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Missionary Activities Among the Cherokee Indians, 1757-1838

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by William Ward Crouch entitled "Missionary Activities Among the Cherokee Indians, 1757-1838." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

Philip M. Hamer, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

W. Neil Franklin, Stanley J. Folmsbee

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Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

August 10, 1932

To the Committee on Graduate Study:

I submit herewith a thesis by Mr. William W. Crouch, "Missionary Activities Among the Cherokee Indians, 1757-1838," and recommend that it be accepted for twelve quarter hours credit in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

P. M. Hamer
Major Professor

At the request of the Committee on Graduate Study, I have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance.

W. Neil Franklin

S. J. Folmsbee

Accepted by the Committee

P. M. Hamer
Chairman

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG THE CHEROKEE INDIANS, 1757-1838

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate Committee
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

by

WILLIAM W. CROUCH

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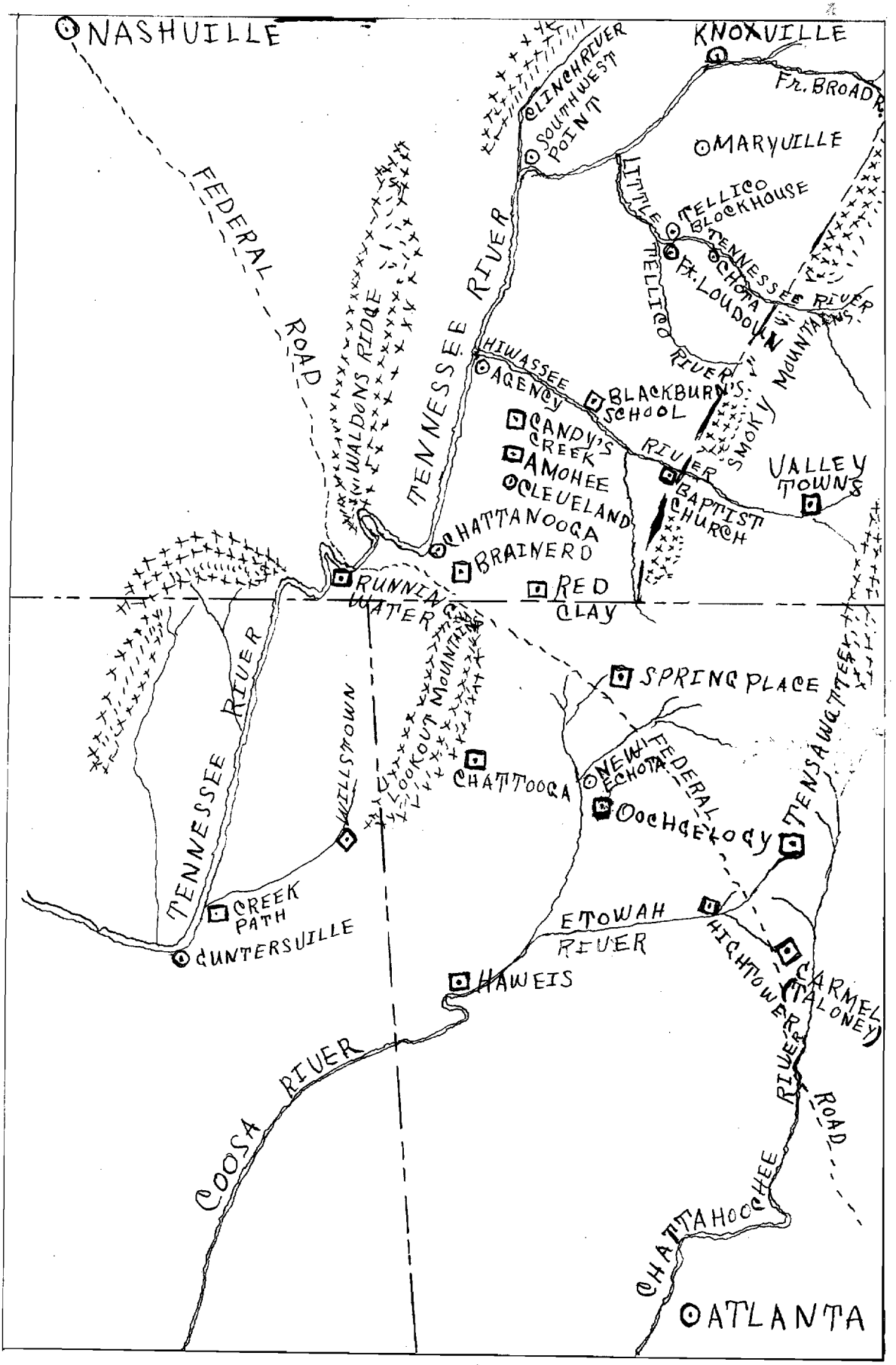

MAP OF CHEROKEE INDIAN MISSIONS IN ALABAMA, GEORGIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND TENNESSEE

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PREFACE

In 1923 Edmund Schwarze of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, published a History of Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States. That work gives an excellent account of the Moravian missions among the Cherokee Indians. In 1931 Robert Sparks Walker of Chattanooga, Tennessee, published a popular work on the Brainerd mission of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians among the Cherokees. But neither of those works made any effort at an inclusive study of Cherokee Indian missions. The chief purpose of this thesis has been to give a connected story of all the mission efforts put forth among the Cherokee Indians before they removed west of the Mississippi River in 1838. Valuable source materials were found in the Library of the University of Tennessee, in the McClung Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library of Knoxville, Tennessee, and in the libraries of the Presbyterian and the Baptist Theological seminaries at Louisville, Kentucky.

I wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance given me in the guidance and suggestions by Dr. Philip M. Hamer and Dr. Marguerite B. Hamer. I also wish to express my appreciation for the cooperation of the library staffs of the Library of the University of Tennessee, the Lawson McGhee Library, the Library of the Presbyterian Seminary, and the Library of Southern Baptist Seminary.

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I

MISSION EFFORTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

Any historical account of early Indian missions must of necessity find its background in the prevailing political and religious conditions in Europe at the time of the discovery, the exploration, and the colonization of the American continent. At the end of the fifteenth century the Commercial Revolution broke upon Europe, and the discovery of America came as a direct result of this revolution. Through-out the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Catholic nations of southern and southwestern Europe were exploring and colonizing parts of both North and South America, excepting the Atlantic coast of North America from Florida to the St. Lawrence River. These nations had a strong religious motive in their work. Their colonies were composed of Catholic subjects full of missionary zeal, and from them went forth the Jesuit missionaries to convert the various and sundry tribes of Indians. The success of these Catholic missionaries was marvelous, but that is another story. No Catholic mission, however, was established among the Cherokee Indians during the period of this investigation.

In the sixteenth century, while the Catholic countries of Southern Europe were grafting their political and religious systems upon America, the Protestant Revolution was raging in the northern and northwestern countries of Europe. The Dutch, Swedes, and English were too much engaged in this revolution to take part in the settlement of the Americas. They did some exploring in the New World, however, and England laid claim to the eastern coast of North America. Nordic Europe emerged from the Protestant Revolution as Protestant Europe. In the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth, Protestant Europeans colonized eastern North America; which, by the end of the seventeenth century, was wholly an English possession.

The home of the Cherokee Indian tribe lay in the southern Appalachian system, just west of the four southern English colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The English early came into contact with the Cherokees and established trade relations with them, but made no serious effort to civilize and christionize them until after the middle of the eighteenth century. This is not strange when it is remembered that, in contrast to the early missionary zeal of the Catholic Church, the missionary spirit

did not pervade Protestant Christianity until late in the eighteenth century. Another item of interest to be observed in a study of Cherokee Indian missions is the fact that the missions were conducted by various and separate Protestant denominations without governmental aid. It is true that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the government of the United States adopted a policy of civilizing the Indians. Large sums of money were spent for that purpose, as will be shown, but only to educate the Indians and not to christianize them.

Finally, in order to give a true picture of conditions among the Cherokees and their development in civilization and christianity, it will be necessary to sketch something of their political history in the period under consideration. If one would understand and appreciate this development he should know something of the Cherokee-English relations, the part played by the Cherokees in the Franco-English struggle for the American continent, and the relations between the Cherokees and the States. To give such a picture and to impart such information is the task assumed in this thesis.

1. Cherokee-English Relations during the French and Indian Wars.

When the English first came in contact with the Cherokee Indians, they occupied the territory of the southern Appalachian mountains. Here they remained until they were removed to the west of the Mississippi River in 1838. The Cherokee tribe or nation as it later was known, was divided into three distinct groups. The southern group lived in settlements known as the Lower Towns, situated in what is now western South Carolina and northern Georgia. The middle group lived in settlements known as the Valley Towns, situated in the mountains of what is now western North Carolina. The northern group, known as the Overhill Cherokees, lived in settlements situated in what is now southeastern Tennessee.[1]

The Virginia Colonists established and carried on trade with the Cherokees in the seventeenth century. This trade largely shifted to Charleston and Savannah in the eighteenth century after the settlement of the Carolinas and Georgia.[2] The amicable relations that were thus established were very much strengthened in 1730, when, through the agency

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1. Hamerer to Fttwein, Fort Prince George, S. C., 1766. in S. C. Williams, ed., Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 246.
2. Clarence E. Carter, "Observations of John Stuart and James Grant," The American Historical Review, XX, 815.

of Sir Alexander Cuming of Charleston, South Carolina, a deputation of seven Cherokee chiefs were carried to London to make a treaty with the king. The chiefs freely acknowledged the Cherokees as subjects of King George and "Articles of Friendship and Commerce..." were mutually signed on September 7, 1730.[3]

The third war in the century-old struggle between France and England for possession of North America was waged 1744--1748. Each party to the conflict had its Indian allies, and both appreciated the position of the Cherokees. It was during this war, in 1746, that the French first attempted to break the Cherokee-English Alliance by requesting of the Cherokees permission to build a fort among them.[4] This request was refused, and the Cherokees began to urge the English to ereet forts among them to protect them from the French and Indians, both to the north and to the south.[5]

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which closed King George's War, proved to be but a truce in the French and English struggle. In 1749, the year after the treaty was signed, the governor of Canada sent de Bienville with 314

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3. For a full account of Cuming and a copy of the treaty, see Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 138--141.
4. Ibid., 190.
5. Ibid., 190.

Frenchmen and a force of Indians to take possession of the upper Ohio valley. In the same year several Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, secured a royal grant of 200,000 acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Kanawah. About the same time still a larger tract was secured by the Loyal Land Company to be located beyond the mountains, probably in what is now Tennessee and Kentucky. The French, in 1753, sent 1000 men to build forts on the upper Ohio. The next year they destroyed an English trading fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. This clash of interests precipitated the final phase of the struggle, the French and Indian War (1754-1763).[6]

In her preparation for this conflict, England heeded the call of the Cherokees for protection by building forts in their country. Fort Prince George was built, in 1753, among the Lower Cherokees on the northern fork of Keowee River, in what is now Pickens County, South Carolina.[7] Fort Loudoun was built, in 1756, among the Upper Cherokees on the south side of the Little Tennessee near its junction with the Tellico, in what is now Monroe County, Tennessee.[8]

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6. J. S. Bassett., A Short History of the United States, 121-122
7. The American Historical Review, XX, 819.
8. For the best account of Fort Loudoun, see P. M. Hamer, "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Cherokee Country, 1754-1757," in North Carolina Historical Review, II, 303--322.

As a further step in securing the loyalty and cooperation of her Indian allies, England appointed in 1755, two superintendents of Indian affairs.[10]

In the face of petty rival dealings with them on the part of the governors of Virginia and South Carolina, and in opposition to continuous French intrigues, the Cherokees remained loyal to the English during the first five years of the French and Indian War. In 1758 a party of Cherokee warriors accompanied General Forbes in his campaign against Fort Duquesne. Before that year was over, however, they broke with the English and became involved in a two year's bloody conflict with them. But before the break, and in the very midst of the French and Indian war, the first Cherokee Indian mission effort was made.

II. The First Cherokee Mission, 1757-1759.

Rev. Samuel Davies, of Hanover County, Virginia, was one of the leading early Presbyterian fathers of his colony. In addition to his regular duties as a preacher of the gospel, he trained young ministers for their calling, presided over their ordination, and had the general over-

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10. The American Historical Review. XX, 820.

sight of the missionary activities of his presbytery. He organized "The Society for Managing the Mission and Schools among the Indians", which appears to have been a mission society of the Hanover Presbytery, but drew financial support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Scotland.[11]

Rev. John Martin, probably a native of Virginia, was the first Presbyterian minister to be ordained in Virginia and was also the first missionary to be sent to the Cherokees.[12] He received his training under Davies, was licensed to preach on August 25, 1756, and was ordained on June 7, 1757. His first service was in Albemarle County, dating from April, 1757. Martin was excused from pressing calls to North Carolina, for reasons given in the following entry of the date of October, 1757, in the church records:[13]

> Mr. Martin having entered into the Indian Mission, has by the hands of Mr. Davies, given up the calls which he had under consideration. Applications having been made by the Society for Managing the Indian Missions and Schools that Mr. Martin be sent among the Indians, the Committee complied with; on which account he is excused from complying with other appointments.

In March, 1758, Martin made his journey through upper South Carolina to the country of the Overhill Cherokees. From

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11. S. C. Williams., "An Account of the Presbyterian Mission to the Cherokees, 1757-1759", The Tennessee Historical Magazine, Ser. II, Vol. I, January 1931, 125ff.
12. Ibid.
13. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, Ser. II, 57., quoted in ibid., 127.

that month until November of the same year, he was stationed at Fort Loudoun and the Indian town of Great Chota.[14]

We have no way of knowing definitely the results of Martin's labors; but according to available information, it seems that his success was meager. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, who visited the Cherokee towns, in 1761-1762, on a peace mission, remarked concerning Martin:[15]

> They [the Cherokees] generally concur, however, in the belief of one superior Being, who made them, and governs all things, and are therefore never discont at any misfortune, because they say the Man above would have it so. They believe in a reward and punishment, as may be evinced by their answer to Mr. Martin, who, having preached scripture till both his audience and he were heartily tired, was told at last, that they knew very well that, if they were good, they should go up; if bad, down; that he could tell no more; that he had long plagued them with that they no ways understood, and that they desired him to depart the country.

Martin, being sick and about to retire from the Cherokee country, was succeeded by Rev. William Richardson. Richardson had been ordained to the ministry during the preceding July. Davies and George Webb, a great land owner of Hanover County and a member of the Society, accompanied Richardson, on October 2, 1758, to Williamsburg to solicit for him a letter of recommendation from Governor Fauquier

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14. S. C. Williams, Tennessee Historical Magazine, Ser. II, Vol. I, January 1931, 127.
15. S. C. Williams, ed., Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765, p. 87.

to "ye commandents of ye forts in the Cherokee Nation."[16]

Richardson journeyed to Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina, where he had news that the Cherokees had killed some of the whites nearest their towns and had hostile intentions toward the settlements. Here he paused, hoping to get information as to the whereabouts of Martin, who had not returned from his mission. On November 1, Richardson rode to the home of Rev. Alexander Craighead, Anson County, "to install him" as ordered by the Presbytery. He preached at two of Craighead's appointments, installed him on November 6, and learned more about the hostilities and depredations of the Middle Cherokees. The long and persistent intrigues of the French were at last bearing fruits and the Cherokee Nation was on the verge of a complete break with the English. Considerable fear prevailed in the Carolinas and Virginia that the French to the north and to the south of the Cherokees would unite with them in a general attack upon the colonies. This fear made Richardson more reluctant to proceed on his journey, because he had no knowledge of the status of conditions among the Upper Cherokees, whither lay his mission. He remained in North Carolina until he learned that Martin had left the Upper Cherokee country. He then rode into South Carolina and met Martin at the Enaree River.[17]

With reference to their meeting, Richardson recorded

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16. Richardson's Diary (S. C. Williams, ed.), Tennessee Historical Magazine, Ser. II, Vol. I, January, 1931, 131ff.
17. Ibid.

of Martin: "My dear Friend and Brother, just recovered from a severe fit of flux and who is still but weak. He informed of the disposition of the Indians to hear the Gospel which disi-
pated my Fears of the Indians and Encouraged me to proceed."[18] Martin set out for Virginia by way of Charlestown, and Richardson "visited around preaching and awaiting the arrival of an interpreter who had been ordered up from Charles Town to serve him."

The interpreter, Mr. Bunyan, was delayed in arriving, and, on November 25, Richardson started forward from Ninety Six to Fort Prince George. From that fort, on November 29, he wrote Bunyan "to make all possible haste to Fort Loudoun." On December 3, he set forward for Fort Loudoun himself, arriving there on December 17, 1758, and "was kindly received by Captain Demeree to him I delivered Governor Fauguier's letter."[19]

For a month after reaching Fort Loudoun, the missionary anxiously awaited the arrival of his interpreter. He preached to the soldiers in the fort on the Sabbaths, but could not preach to the Indians. This caused him much worry and annoyance. Finally, on January 3, 1759, Mr. Bunyan arrived. Immediately, through him, Richardson got in touch with Old Hop, the Cherokee emperor, whose headquarters were at the nearby town of Chota. The emperor promised to call a council and decide on allowing the mission to proceed. A partial council

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18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 32.

was held, on January 5, but the Indians were totally indifferent,[20] claiming that they were "engaged in other matters."

Richardson, on January 9, moved over to Chota and "hired a house for four months for 100 shillings..." For a month thereafter he waited on the Indians for an answer, but was continually put off by Old Hop and told to wait. He had several audiences with the emperor, Standing Turkey and other chiefs, but they grew more indifferent to the question of a mission among them. The war spirit was rife and trouble was brewing fast for the colonies. The Cherokees were expecting the arrival of the French and Indians when, on February 6, 1759, Richardson abandoned the mission effort and left Fort Loudoun.[21] This closed the first mission to the Cherokees, and no other mission effort was put forth among them until twenty-four years later.

Richardson's Diary shows that he preached to the soldiers in Fort Loudoun each Sabbath while there. He also baptized two white children, doubtless the first baptisings in Tennessee, and conducted a burial service over a soldier that died at the fort. But the mission was a failure with reference to the Cherokees.[22] Richardson did not preach a sermon to them.

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20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Williams states that, after leaving Fort Loudoun, Richardson married Nancy Craighead, daughter of the preacher mentioned above, and made his future home in the Waxhaw settlement of upper South Carolina.

III Cherokee-English Relations from the French and Indian War to the Close of the Revolutionary War.

The war spirit of the Cherokees, which contributed directly to the failure of Richardson's mission, was the result of the intrigues of a Frenchman by the name of Chr. De Lantagnac. The French in 1715, built Fort Toulouse among the Alabomos Indians near the present site of Montgomery, Alabama. Lantagnac was an ensign in this fort when, in 1749, he was captured by a party of Chickasaw Indians and taken to Savannah. From there he was sent to Charleston, South Carolina, as an English prisoner. He was licensed by Governor Glen, in 1750, as a trader to the Cherokees. After a stay of five years among the English and Cherokees, Lantagnac returned to the French. He was stationed by Governor Kerlerec of Louisiana, from 1756 onward, at Fort Toulouse "as a sort of liaison officer to the Cherokees." Lantagnac, from 1756-1759, was in constant communication with Chief Mankiller, of the Upper Cherokees, and with the younger warriors. He made trips into the Cherokee Country, kept the French governor informed of developments, promised the Cherokees munitions and goods, and incited them to open warfare against the English.[23]

In the winter of 1758-9 small bands of Cherokees killed a few of the whites nearest to the Indian country, and

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23. S. C. Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 177-184.

the whites retaliated by killing some of the Cherokees. Later in '59, a band of Cherokees, who had deserted from Forbe's campaign against Fort Duquesne, on their homeward journey murdered twenty-two whites in North Carolina. Raids and counter raids then followed until open war was the result.

Colonel Montgomery, in the spring of 1760, was sent from Charleston into the Cherokee Country with 1650 men, most of whom were regulars. They burned the Lower Cherokee towns and killed or captured more than a hundred Indians; but when they attempted to cross the mountains into the Upper Cherokee country, they were fiercely resisted and returned to Charleston. Their departure sealed the doom of Fort Loudoun. The Cherokees under the command of Oconostata, the Great Warrior, invested the fort, which was surrendered on August 7, 1760, after the garrison had been reduced to the point of starvation. The fort was destroyed and some of the garrison were killed. The English renewed their efforts, in the spring of 1761, to reduce the Cherokees to submission. By May 27, General Grant had 2600 men mustered at Fort Prince George, 1300 of whom were Scotch Highlanders. During the month of June this army marched through the Lower Cherokee Country, driving the Indians in flight to the mountains. No less than fourteen Indian towns were burned to the ground and all growing crops were destroyed. Virginia also sent an army, under Lieutenant

Colonel Adam Stephen, to Long Island, (on the Holston River at Kingsport, Tennessee) where it erected a fort and went into camp. This army did not get into action against the Cherokees, who were more than a hundred miles to the south.[24]

The havoc wrought by fire and sword in General Grant's campaign broke the Indians' spirit. As soon as Grant was back in Fort Prince George in July, Attakullakulla, the head chief of the Cherokees, went to him and sued for peace.[25] Old Hop, emperor of the Cherokees, and some 400 of his people were sent by the tribe in November on a like mission to the Virginia army at Long Island. A treaty was signed on November 19, 1761, by Colonel Stephen and Old Hop. The Indians requested of Stephen that he would send a man with them to visit the Cherokee settlements and cement the newly made peace. Henry Timberlake was sent among them on such a mission. During the winter of '61--'62 he traveled through the entire Cherokee Country, restoring and strengthening a mutual friendship. This visit resulted in Timberlake's conducting a deputation of three Cherokee chiefs to London, in the spring of 1762; and another deputation of four chiefs in the fall of 1764. These deputations conferred with the King and avowed everlasting submission.[26]

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24. Henry Howe, Historical Collections of the Great West, I, 56; Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765, 38-39.
25. Henry Howe, Historical Collections of the Great West 59
26. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765, 39 ff., 147, 169-174.

The spirit of friendship and fair dealing continued; and when the Revolutionary War began, the Cherokees aligned themselves with the English against the colonies.

John Daniel Hammerer, a German Lutheran, accompanied the Cherokee deputation on their return from London to Williamsburg, Virginia, in August, 1765. Hammerer had "a plan for civilizing and humanizing" the Cherokees approved by Lord Hillsborough. He was grated £ 40 by the Governor of Virginia and was turned over to Attakullakulla to be conducted to Fort Prince George, among the Lower Cherokees. He arrived at that place, but we know nothing of his work.[27]

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution some of the hardy settlers of the colonies began to look for new homes in the wilderness. Watauga Settlement was started in 1768-'69, by Virginians and North Carolinians, on the Watauga River, in what is now Eastern Tennessee. The Indians viewed this encroachment with alarm, and in the midst of the Revolutionary war they prepared to attack the settlement. The inhabitants had warning and retired into their stockades before the attack. The Carolinas and Virginia sent forth bodies of militia which ravaged the Indian country, burning many of the Indian towns, and the Cherokees sued for peace. For a few

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27. Adelaide L. Fries, Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, I, 304, 311-313, 437.

years this most exposed part of the frontier had relief.[28]

IV. The Second Effort At Cherokee Missions made by the Moravians.

The Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, is an ancient sect of Christianity dating back to John Huss and the Bohemian Church of the sixteenth century. After centuries of persecution, a remnant of the sect, in 1722, found an asylum on the spacious estates of Count Zinzendorf of Saxony.[29] In 1735, by previous arrangements with the trustees of Georgia, he succeeded in planting a colony of Moravians in Savannah. The English became involved in war with Spain in 1739, and the Moravians were asked to join an expedition against the Spanish in Florida. Like the Quakers, they refused to serve in war, and left Savannah in 1740 for Germantown, Pennsylvania. Within a few years they removed to Bethelem, Pennsylvania, which early became, and still remains, their northern headquarters in this country.[30] Count Zinzendorf purchased a 100,000 acre tract of land in Western North Carolina in 1752, for the purpose of establishing an independent Moravian colony. In 1753, a company of Moravians from Bethlehem made the first

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28. J. S. Basset., A Short History of the United States, 303.
29. Fries, op. cit., 20-21.
30. Edmund Schwarze, History of Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes, 6-10.

settlement on that estate. Within a decade several towns were founded, and, on January 6, 1766, Salem, North Carolina, the southern headquarters for the Church was started.[31]

The Moravians, from their earliest settlements in Georgia until the close of the Revolutionary War, constantly had in mind the Cherokee nation as a missionary objective; but on account of the wars and the troublous conditions of the period, they were prevented from carrying out their intentions. They first became interested in the Cherokees in 1736, when their second company bound for Georgia crossed the Atlantic in company with John and Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham. These "Methodists" were bound for America for the specific purpose of preaching to the Indians. Ingham was very anxious to engage in mission work among the Cherokees. He interested the Moravians and they became deeply inclined to that tribe as the object of their first efforts. But after reaching Savannah and learning that the Cherokees were situated at a great distance in the mountains, they abandoned the undertaking and confined their efforts, for the five years they were in Georgia, among the Creek Indians.[32] When in 1752-1753, the Moravians of Pennsylvania bought and laid out their

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31. Fries, op. cit., 66, 73, 333.
32. Schwarze, op. cit., 9.

establishment in North Carolina, they did so with the evangelization of the Cherokees as one of their prime motives. Gottlieb Spangenberg, the Moravian commissioner appointed to locate the settlement, recorded while on that duty: "Our land lies in a region much frequented by the Catawbas and Cherokees, especially for hunting..., and as we believe that the Saviour means to bless the Catawbas and Cherokees through our settlement in North Carolina we have decided to here take up our third tract."[33] During the period of its infancy, many Cherokees did pass to and fro in the new settlement. For example, within the year 1758, in bands of ten to a hundred, no less than 500 Cherokees were fed one or more meals by the Moravians.[34] In the same year, a party of Cherokees assured John Ettwein, a Moravian leader, that they would be proud if some of the Brethren would come to their country to learn their language.[35] But the Cherokee-English War which has already been mentioned, came on apace and the opportunity passed. On the very eve of the Revolution, in 1775, "A Cherokee[36] chief passing through Salem, assured the Brethren that

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33. Spangenberg's Diary, Nov. 11 and 12, 1752, Fries, op. cit., 48, 49.
34. Fries, op. cit., 195-196.
35. Schwarze, op. cit., 17.
36. Ibid., 34.

missionaries would be welcome among them, provided they would instruct their children."

The Moravians did not forget the visit of the Chief; and when peace was declared with England in the fall of 1783, their hopes of establishing a mission among the Cherokees revived. On learning that the federal government was to hold a treaty with the Indians at Long Island of the Holston, they resolved to send a representative in company with Colonel Matin Armstrong, who was to attend as a representative of the North Carolina government.[37]

Martin Schneider, one of the Brethren of Salem, volunteered for this journey, which was performed between the middle of December 1783 and January 24, 1784. Of the purpose and beginning of his journey, Schneider recorded:[38]

> I received instruction December 6, 1783 to travel with Colonel Martin Armstrong who would shortly leave for Holston River to make a treaty with the Indians, to ascertain more about those regions and the need of the Cherokees, so that the Brethren could plan something definite about establishing a mission among them. On December 14th, I was commended to the Lord and blessed by the congregation for the trip, and on the 16th, left by way of Bethania and reached Col. Armstrong that night.

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37. S. C. Williams, Early Travels, 248.
38. Schwarze, op. cit., 35; quoting Schneider's Report, entitled, "A Journey of Martin Schneider from Salem to Long Island on the Holston River and from there to Towns of the Upper Cherokees on the Tennessee River."

Armstrong could not go on the journey because his family was down with the measles. He tried to dissuade Schneider from going; but considering that he was under a commission from the Lord, he would not turn back. So Armstrong gave him a pass and a letter of recommendation to Colonel Joseph Martin.[39] Provided with these, Schneider set out on horse-back, in company with a band of emigrants going west. He crossed the Blue Ridge at Flour Gap in the midst of a heavy snow-storm; thence he passed through the lower counties of Virginia to the headwaters of the Holston, which he reached on the twenty-third day of December.[40]

Schneider arrived, on the afternoon of December 24, at the home of Jacob Young, a German, in the "neighborhood" of what is now Bristol, Tennessee. There he celebrated Christmas. He complained that "Frolicks, shooting and fighting" took place nearby. The next day after Christmas, Schneider continued his journey and arrived that evening at the home of Colonel Martin, two miles from Long Island. There was "not the least appearance of the Treaty which was the occasion

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39. Martin was Indian agent of North Carolina and Virginia, located near Long Island, Williams, op. cit., 250.
40. Schwarze, op. cit., 48-49. The account of Schneider's mission given in the next few pages is based on his diary as printed in S. C. Williams, Early Travels, 250-265, unless otherwise stated.

of my journey," he reported. Even Colonel Martin was not at home. On December 22, he had set out for the Cherokee towns on the Tennessee River, near where Tellico, Tennessee, is now located.

Schneider felt that he could not return to Salem without having accomplished his mission. Accordingly, he proceeded down the Holston Valley in quest of Colonel Martin. On January 3, 1784, he crossed the French Broad River a few miles above its mouth and arrived at the Cherokee town of Sitike, some twenty-nine miles to the south on the Little Tennessee. Here he found Martin, who welcomed him, and after reading the letter of introduction from Colonel Armstrong, "...said he would be at my service in my concern."

As guest of Colonel Martin, Schneider spent one week in visiting among the nine Cherokee towns that lay within twenty miles along the Tellico and Tennessee Rivers, in which Colonel Martin computed "700 able warriors."

At Chota, he visited Samuel Benn, an old white man who had lived among the Cherokees for many years. Benn related to him, "25 years ago a Preacher of the English Church (?) had got leave from the Chiefs to build a House and to preach to them, but the war breaking out soon, the Affair come to nothing."[41]

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41. This "Preacher" was Rev. J. Martin of the Presbyterian church who lived at Chota in 1758.

On January 4, "Col. Martin appointed the Head Chief (Taysell) for a Council tomorrow." The council met the next day at the house of James McCormick, an old white man, who lived at the juncture of the Tellico and the Tennessee. It was composed of some twenty chiefs and warriors. McCormick acted as interpreter. Colonel Martin, after presenting some other minor matters, laid the business of Schneider before the council. Among other things, he told the Indians that Schneider "was sent by the chief ministers of certain people ...., to know of them, whether they would like to hear and be instructed concerning their God and Creator, and whether a couple of their Brethren could live among them for that purpose."

The head chief promised to answer after some time. Within about two hours he replied that he and all the chiefs present were very glad that such an offer had been made to them, but that he could give no positive answer until all the chiefs and hunters were at home from the beaver hunt. He promised to call them together to decide the matter, and to tell their resolution at the next treaty on Long Island.

Colonel Martin then told Schneider that for the time being nothing further could be done in the matter. McCormick showed much interest and promised that he would do all in his power to encourage the Indians to accept the offer.

Schneider spent five more days in visiting and inspecting the Indian towns. He reported the conditions of the domestic life of the Cherokees as he found them. He stated: 'Every family has besides the dwelling house still a smaller bathouse." The dwelling houses were built of small logs and were "about 7 feet high to roof, 14 feet long and 10 feet broad, and are well plastered." Every house had only one small door, a chimney on the outside, and no windows. The "bathouses" were their abodes in very cold weather. These were entered by creeping on all-fours through a single small opening in the wall near the ground. The Cherokees slept on "...couches of cane...which they scarce ever leave before 9 o'clock in the morning." The old people wore but little clothing, and the children under ten years wore none. Their chief winter food was hominy, corn bread, and dried peaches, both cooked and uncooked. Each house was surrounded with peach and apple trees poorly kept. In every town there was "a round Tower of Earth," on which stood a small tool house. Each morning when the Indians were working in their corn crop, for they grew no other, the head chief of the village mounted to the tool house and summoned the people to work. He distributed to each man a tool, which was nothing more than a hoe. The people worked together, though each family owned its separate field. The Indians kept no cattle; and if an animal belonging to a trader entered the unfenced corn

fields, it was shot at once. Many Indians owned a horse, seldomly more than one, which was kept tied among the cane to graze. Chickens were grown for their eggs. The Cherokees disposed of their dead without ceremony. When the poor died they burned them with their houses. When a chief died, they placed him in a close reed coffin and put it upon props ten feet high. There he was left till all tumbled to the ground.

Seeing that it was useless to stay longer, Schneider left Chota and Sitiko on January 10, 1784, on his return journey to Salem. On January 24, he arrived safely at his destination.

This effort at missions among the Cherokees was abortive and came to naught. Soon after Schneider's return to Salem, the Indians were again on the warpath against the Tennesseeans. The contemplated treaty on the Holston did not take place for many moons, and no other Cherokee mission was attempted for fifteen years.

V. A Decade-and-a-Half of Strife Between the Cherokees and Neighboring White Settlements.

From 1784 to 1798 was a period of constant raids and counter raids on the part of the Cherokees and the Tennesseeans. This border warfare was largely the result of boundary disputes and the Indians' natural resentment toward the encroachment of the fast growing settlements of whites. To prevent this strife,

the United States made no less than three definite treaties with the Cherokees from 1785 to 1794.[42] But the treaties were not effective; as often as they were made so frequently were they broken. Conditions grew from bad to worse until John Sevier, in 1793, and James Robertson, in 1794, from the Washington District of East Tennessee and from the Cumberland District of Middle Tennessee respectively, invaded the Upper and Lower Cherokee Country, slaying and burning without mercy.[43] The Cherokees then sued for peace in earnest. Finally, on October 2, 1798, a permanent settlement of disputes was made at Tellico Blockhouse on the Little Tennessee. By this treaty, which confirmed all former treaties, the Cherokees acknowledged themselves under the protection of the United States and surrendered their claims to all territory in dispute. A permanent boundary line between the East Tennesseeans and the Cherokees was agreed upon, and was to be accurately surveyed and marked immediately. The white settlers, who were fast filling the ceded territory, were to be kept above that line. For these concessions the United States obligated herself to grant to the Cherokees

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42. American State Papers, VII, 44, 124, 543.
43. Bassett, op. cit., 265.

an annuity of $6000 worth of goods. The annuity was to be distributed at a time optional to the Indians, which proved to be in the fall of the year.[44]

This period of hostilities depleted the Cherokees in numbers and left them in an impoverished condition; but with the establishment of peace, the United States government sought in many ways to alleviate their troubles. The old towns of the Upper Cherokees were largely depopulated, the houses in a state of decay, and the surrounding fields overgrowing with wild vegetation. The whole gave an appearance of desolation.[45] Colonel David Henley, Indian Commissioner at Knoxville, estimated the Cherokee nation to consist "of 8000 souls."[46] Following the above treaties the United States government appointed Indian commissioners and agents for the Cherokees. Tellico Blockhouse and trading post was established. There the annuity was distributed to the Indians each fall. Rum-drinking and horse-stealing being the worst moral evils among the Cherokees, the government carefully restricted the former and deducted $50 from the

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44. American State Papers, VII, 637.
45. S. C. Williams, Early Travels, 371.
46. "Report of the journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. De Schweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland settlements (1799)" (Printed in S. C. Williams, Early Travels, 445-535), entry for November 7, 1799. Future references to this work will be as Steiner's Diary.

annuity for each horse stolen. The Indians were much encouraged in agricultural pursuits and industrial arts. In the summer of 1798, three hundred plows, and as many cotton carding-combs, were sent to the nation. To encourage wheat growing among the Cherokees, the government sent a German by the name of Hildebrand to erect a mill for them on the Ocoee River.[47] When all things are considered, it may be truly said that with the establishment of peace in 1798 the door was opened for the first time to the civilizing and christianizing of these Indians.

VI. Further Mission Efforts of the Moravians.

Immediately following the establishment of peace in the Cherokee Country, the Moravians renewed their efforts at evangelizing the Indians. In March of 1799, Rev. Joseph Bullen of Vermont was sent on a missionary journey to the Chickasaw Indians by the New York Missionary Society. On his return through the Cherokee Country he wrote to his society from Knoxville, under date of April 24, 1799, "....that the Cherokees who reside in the vicinity of Tennessee are desirous of having missionaries among them."[48] On October 17, the annual Conference of the Salem branch of

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47. Steiner's Diary, entry for November 7, 1799.
48. Schwarze, op. cit., 41.

the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel met at Salem. Bullem's statement about the Cherokees was read before the Conference and great interest in another attempt at founding a Cherokee mission was aroused at the meeting. Abraham Steiner was one of the warmest advocates of the proposition. The meeting adopted a recommendation that the Helpers' Conference consider the matter. After due consideration, it was decided to send one of the Brethren on a reconnoitering trip into the Cherokee Country in the vicinity of Knoxville. Steiner was chosen by lot for the journey, and Christian Frederick de Schweinitz of Salem volunteered to accompany him.[49]

Steiner and Schweinitz left Salem on November 1, 1799, on horseback. They traveled the Jonesborough road, connecting the Virginia and Tennessee valleys, and entered Tennessee in Sullivan County. Passing through Jonesborough, Leesburg, Greeneville, and what is now Jefferson City, they arrived in the village of Knoxville on the afternoon of the 6th of November.[50]

Colonel David Henley was general Indian agent of the War Department and had his headquarters in Knoxville. The missionaries presented to him their letter of introduction

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49. Ibid., 41-42.
50. Steiner's Diary, entries for November 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

addressed to him by Frederick Wilhelm von Marschall, head of the Moravian Church in North Carolina. They were welcomed by Colonel Henley, who informed them that he regretted they had not come two or three weeks earlier, stating that at that time all the Cherokee "chiefs and more than 4000 Indians had been gathered at Tellico Blockhouse to receive their annual presents, which in goods amounted in value to 6000 dollars." Then Colonel Henley commended very highly the undertaking of the Brethren and promised to do all that was "in his power" to further their purpose; "although he thought the Cherokees were not civilized enough to hear and understand the gospel, even though they had been for some years improving amazingly."[51]

On November 8, the Brethren received of Colonel Henley a pass through the Cherokee Nation and letters of introduction to Captain Edward Butler, commanding officer at Tellico Blockhouse and to Major Thomas Lewis, government agent to the Cherokees. Thereupon they proceeded on their journey thirty-six miles to Tellico Blockhouse where they met Captain Butler and Major Lewis. They were kindly received, and both Butler and Lewis were generous in proffering any assistance possible in the furtherance of their plans. The agent and commandant also expressed deep regret that the missionaries

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51. Steiner&s Diary, entry for November 7, 1799.

had not arrived earlier. They informed the Brethren that the Indians were away on their winter beaver hunt and it would be impossible to confer with them about establishing a mission until the next spring.[52]

Being thwarted in their purpose of holding a conference with the Cherokees, and having staid two days at the blockhouse as guests of Captain Butler, the missionaries employed an old Indian by the name of Tav as guide and spent some six days in visiting the Upper Cherokee towns to the south. They spied out the country as far as Hiwassee Town on the Hiwassee River, fifty miles from Tellico. Their object was to learn what they could of Indian domestic life and moral conditions. They observed that the United States government was making an honest effort to protect the Indians from unscrupulous whites along the border and within the Cherokee nation. Rum trafficking and horse stealing were the greatest depredations to be guarded against. The Indians were fast learning agrioulture, spinning, weaving, and stock raising. They had many horses, cattle, chickens, and some hogs in the Hiwassee towns.[53]

The missionaries returned to Tellico Blockhouse on

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52. Ibid., entries for November 8, 9, 10.
53. Ibid., entries for November 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

November 17, and there spent the next two days conversing with several old Indians who came to the post and with Captain Butler, Agent Lewis, and the two government interpreters, Dick Fields, a half-breed,and a Mr. Carey. Before taking their final leave of Tellico, Butler requested of the missionaries a written statement of their plans and purposes so that he might convey the matter to the chiefs when they returned from their hunt in the spring. Also, he requested an address to which he might write to the Brethren of any developments. Both were gladly furnished, and the missionaries departed on November 19 for Knoxville.[54]

From Knoxville the Brethren visited the Cumberland settlements, preaching in Nashville and surrounding communities for some two weeks. They returned to Knoxville on December 17, and before starting on their return journey to North Carolina, they again visited Colonel Henley to pay him their respects.[55]

Before their departure, however, Colonel Henley offered the Brethren his aid in the future by saying:[56]

> If, therefore, in the future you would secure information or again come thither, then turn to me without further ceremony. I am willing, also, if one of you should come next September, at the time of the distribution of presents to the Indians, if I then have the time, to accompany such to Tellico Blockhouse or even further into the Indian country, myself.

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54. Ibid., entry for November 19.
55. Ibid., entries for November 20, December 17,18.
56. Ibid., entry for December 17, 1799.

In the written statement of their plans and purposes which was handed to Captain Butler by the missionaries when they were at Tellico Blockhouse on November 19, it was stated that the Society of the United Brethren had sent them into the Cherokee country to inquire into t e situation of the Cherokees as to their state of civlization, customs, manners, and their rel tions to the government of the United States. The statement further declared that the main purpose of the visit of the missionaries was to see what could be done among the Cherokees "....in preaching the gospel, and at the same time, in teaching their children to read and write and to turn their education, by the grace of God, into a moral and Christian life." The missionaries also assured Captain Butler that the Society would "take it as a favor and would be particularly thankful" if he would from time to time "communicate to them what he finds proper touching said subjects and about the desire of the Indians to be instructed in Christianity as likewise of their next...grand meeting."[57]

In pursuance of the above expressed desires, Steiner kept up a correspondence, throughout the spring and summer of 1800, with Colonel Henley and Captain Butler. He sent a duplicate letter, on April 23, to both of them, asking them several questions relative to the prospects for starting a

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57. Schwarze, op. cit., 45-46.

mission among the Cherokees. He wished to know if such an undertaking would be agreeable to the officers of the government, and should the consent of the Indians be obtained. Colonel Henley replied in a very friendly and encouraging letter of April 23, in which he assured Steiner that it would be agreeable with the officers for a mission to be established, and he believed the Cherokees "would give consent for one or more missionaries among them." He was also of opinion that a piece of land would be alloted to the missionaries.[58] He thought that the chiefs should be consulted. Captain Butler replied under date of May 11, and stated that he had had a "Talk" with the two chiefs, Little Turkey and Bloody Fellow, at Tellico on May 9. A copy of the "Talk" was inclosed with the letter. It showed that Butler presented Steiner's questions to the chiefs, and that he made a strong plea for the mission enterprise.[59] Commenting on the "Talk", Butler informed Steiner that the chiefs gave full assent to the proposals for a mission and "faithfully promised to lay the business before the General Council, strengthening Butlers points with all their rhetoric."[60] Finally, Butler assure the Brethren that they might count on his

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58. Letters quoted in ibid., 47-48.
59. Schwarze, op. cit., 43-50.
60. Ibid., 51.

exertions in their behalf, also those of Major Lewis and Colonel Thomas Butler at Southwest Point. He "advised the Brethren at Salem to apply to the Secretary of War for the Presidents approbation and permission for their undertaking."[61] He also urged that the same two Brethren who made the visit the previous year should be present when the next annuity would be distributed at Tellico Blockhouse in September.[62]

In August the Helpers Conference considered another visit to the Cherokee Country, which was agreed to and confirmed by lot. Steiner and Schweinitz were again chosen to make the journey.[63]

On September 3, 1800, they arrived in Knoxville on their second visit. Four days later they went on to Southwest Point, thirty miles southwest of Tellico, to confer with Captain Edward Butler, where he had gone on business. There they met both him and Colonel Thomas Butler, his brother. From there the four journeyed to Tellico "where Agent Lewis received the Brethren very kindly and said they had come at the right time as he had called the chiefs to gather for a council in a few days."[64]

The chiefs began to arrive on the 18th, and the

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61. Ibid., 51.
62. Ibid., 52.
63. Ibid., 52.
64. Ibid., 52.

council started on the 23d of September. The place of meeting was one mile below Tellico and on the opposite side of the Tennessee River. The council was held under the open sky, fence rails were used for seats, and the participants sat in the form of a square. About thirty chiefs were present.[65]

The missionaries' business was the first to be considered. Doublehead asked to know their errand and by whose authority they had been sent. Steiner then presented the purpose of his mission and assured the council that he had the consent of the United States government. He "requested to know if the Indians would permit missionaries to live on a plot of ground assigned them by the Nation for this purpose and where Indians also might live who...would accept the word of God and desire to live thereby." The chiefs wanted to know if the missionaries would board and clothe the children sent to the school. Steiner answered: "No! we will instruct them gratis, but no board and clothes."[66] Finally, after much discussion, Steiner asked whether, if he and another should come the next year, they would be allowed to make a trial. Doublehead answered: "You are welcome, make a trial."[67] To this all agreed.

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65. Ibid., 52.
66. Ibid., 53.
67. Ibid., 53.

Such an agreement among white men would have been sufficient, but not so with the Cherokees. Another long parley ensued on September 24, in which the chiefs contended that the missionaries should board and clothe the children if a mission were allowed. The result was a deadlock, and Steiner, becoming impatient, threatened to return to North Carolina. But Agent Lewis advised him to wait a few days and not go home, because the Indians might change their minds.[68]

Another council was arranged for the 30th of September. Colonel Henley, who had arrived from Knoxville, and Major Lewis had long conversations with the chiefs about the proposed mission.[69]

Finally on October 6, when the annuity had been distributed, the last council was held and the missionaries were invited to sit with the chiefs. Lewis again presented the matter of the mission. Chief "Gentleman Tom" was spokesman for the Upper, and Chief Doublehead was the same for the Lower Cherokees.[70] Gentleman Tom addressing Little Turkey, said:

> From what has been said respecting the missionaries of the Moravians, we consider their intentions as laudable. Let them come and make the trial; we hope it will prove beneficial. We ask our beloved man, Little Turkey, his sentiments on the occasion."

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68. Ibid., 54.
69. Ibid., 55.
70. Quoted in ibid., 55.

Doublehead answered for Little Turkey:[71]

> Their desire appears to be good, to instruct us and our children and improve our and their minds and nation. These gentlemen, I hope, will make the experiment; and we will be the judge from their conduct and their attention to us and our children, this will enable us to judge properly.

This closed the matter. After the council, Chief Bloody Fellow remarked: "All this could have been saved if you had had a paper from the President."[72]

After the last council had ended so favorably for the Brethren, they were determined to accompany some of the chiefs to their homes and view possible sites for a mission. James Van was anxious to have them go with him. He waited for them to have their horses shod and they accompanied him to his place on the trail between South Carolina and Georgia near the Connesauga River. This river was the boundary between the Upper and the Lower Cherokees, and was 90 miles south of Tellico Blockhouse. Van lived just inside the Upper Cherokee country. The missionaries spent several days with him and he took them to the several places they wished to investigate.[73]

Besides Van's place, the missionaries visited McDonald's place at Chickamauga, and other sites. On their re-

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71. Also quoted in ibid., 55.
72. Quoted in ibid., 56.
73. Ibid., 57.

turn journey alone to Tellico, they explored along the Hiwassee River some 40 miles south of Tellico Blockhouse, and also investigated a place near Tellico Blockhouse. They took notes of their observations on each of the places and Steiner gave his opinions of each as to suitability for a mission location.[74]

The Brethren arrived at Tellico Blockhouse on October 19, and at the end of the month they were back in Salem with their report. At last all was in readiness for the establishment of the first permanent mission among the Cherokees.

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74. Ibid., 58.

Chapter II

A PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS, 1801-1818.

The latter half of the eighteenth century was a period of futile missionary efforts among the Cherokees. The period of 1800-1819 was an era of beginnings of permanent mission and school establishments among them. With in the years, 1801-1819, no less than four such establishments were made: the Moravian mission and school at Springplace, Georgia, on the border between the Upper and Lower Cherokees; the Presbyterian mission and school among the Upper Cherokees on the lower Hiwassee River some fifty miles southwest of Knoxville; the Congregationalist mission and school of Brainerd at Chickamauga, among the Upper Cherokees; and the Baptist mission and school on the upper Hiwassee River at Valley Towns, North Carolina, among the Middle Cherokees. The first two of these were established in the early part of the period; and the last two, near the close.

1. Beginnings of the Moravian Mission at Springplace, 1801-1810.

After the return of Steiner and Schweinitz to Salem at the end of October, 1800, the Brethren of North Carolina were soon engaged in making preparations for the

founding of a mission among the Cherokees. The Helpers Conference of Salem met on November 17, and Steiner's report was carefully considered. When it come to the selection of a place at which to locate the proposed mission, the Conference gave due consideration to Steiner's observations on the comparative desirability of the four sites visited by him. Of James Vann's place, he had recorded: "Two miles south of James Vann's is a large plantation occupied by a Mr. Brown who wishes to move away. Vann thinks he could buy Brown's improvements for about $30. Indian towns are near: Sumach Town, 7 miles; Rabbit Trap, 15 miles; Coosawattee, 17 miles; Oostanaula, 15 miles."[1] This was the place chosen to make a beginning. The Indians being desirous that the consent which they had given should be confirmed by the president, the Brethren, on November 18, applied for such to the Secretary of War. In due time they received the following reply under date of December 9, 1800, from Samuel Dexter:[2]

> Messrs. F. W. Marshall, Christian L. Benzein, Gentlemen, I have received your letter of the 18th ulto., and submitted it to the President of the United States. Under his direction I enclose a permission for the Rev. Mr. Steiner to reside among the Indian tribes for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of Christianity as well as the useful arts.

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1. E. Schwarze., Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes, 57.
2. Ibid., 58-59.

With this letter came the desired permit and a pass. Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan were chosen as missionaries for the new undertaking. At an extraordinary service held in the Salem Church on the night of April 12, 1801, these Brethren were ordained for their tasks.[3] This completed the preparations in Salem.

On the day after their ordination, Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan set out for the Indian country on horseback, and with one packhorse, "to prepare for the settlement of a mission, by planting some ground with provision and providing an habitation." They were instructed to begin their diary at once. The Helpers Conference had given them a letter of credit to Mr. Hooker in Tellico. They arrived safely in Tellico and spent several days there. Major Lewis loaned them another packhorse and Captain Butler gave them a packsaddle. Recutfitted and resupplied, they resumed their journey with an Indian guide and arrived at Vann's place on the 30th of April. They found Vann had gone on a two weeks journey to the Georgia frontier, and Brown, whose property Vann had promised to buy for them, had not moved.[4]

The Brethren could only stay at Vann's and await developments. Vann returned home on May 11, and assured

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3. Ibid., 61-63.
4. Ibid., 63

them that they should have Brown's place for what it cost him.[5] He insisted that they should continue to stay with him until Brown had gone. This they did until July 13, when Brown loaded his personal effects on numerous pack-horses and left the country. In the meanwhile, with Vann's timely assistance, the Brethren planted and cultivated some ten acres of corn as their first crop. They also built them a new cabin, into which they moved on the day that Brown left.[6]

The following statements indicate something of conditions at the mission in the summer of 1801:[7]

> The Brethren lived in the first months mainly on corn bread, eggs and coffee; meat they had none. Once several Indians came to remain over night and they shared with them what they had to eat and it was only bread and water. They fared better when their garden yielded an abundance of fresh vegetables. Wayfaring Indians also made use of any thing they pleased and the Brethren dared not speak a word against it.

Throughout the autumn of 1801 the mission was vacant. Early in September the Missionaries received a letter directing them to return to Salem. They began their journey September 21, and on October 8, they reached their destination. Steiner had been in poor health all summer. Soon after reaching Salem his health became so precarious that it was evident

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5. Brown's place was known as Springplace and was the present site of the town by that name in Murray County, Georgia, fifteen miles south of Chattanooga.
6. Ibid., 64-65.
7. Ibid., 66.

he would be unable to return to his post for some time. The Conference set about trying to find some brother suitable for his position. Many were considered who were willing to go but the lot would not give approbation. After much prayer and deliberation, the Conference decided that Byhan should marry Dorothea Schneider, a spinster of thirty-two years, and as man and wife the two should return as missionaries to Springplace. When approached by the Conference with this call, Miss Schneider found herself willing to comply. The wedding took place on November 16, 1801, and the journey to Springplace was begun without further delay. Jacob Wohlfahrt accompanied them. The trip was made in a wagon as far as Tellico. There the good road ended and the driver, John Krause, was dismissed to return the wagon to Salem. With a packhorse and an Indian guide, the missionary party proceeded on its way over the eighty miles of wilderness trail that connected Tellico and Springplace.[8] After much difficulty in fording swollen streams, on December 16, they reached their destination safe and well.

In the winter and spring of 1802, the Byhans got comfortably settled and started the work of the mission. Wohlfahrt staid with them until January 26, when he started on his return to Salem. He preached twice at Vann's to Indians and blacks, and once at the house of Mr. Austill

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8. Ibid., 68-69.

in the Indian town of Oostanaula. On January 31, Nancy Vann, sister of James Vann, moved into a cabin built for her at the mission by Vann's negroes. She was of considerable help to the missionaries, because, being a half-breed, she could speak with the Indians who often passed that way. Also, she brought with her two cows which were of value to the mission, as the cows of the missionaries were at large in the forests.

Steiner arrived on March 17, and remained until May 29 on a visit to the mission. While there he held two official mission conferences; the first on March 24, and the second just before he returned to Salem. At the first conference the following instructions were adopted;[9]

> 1. One of the houses is to be repaired and floor laid in it. This, in preparation for an additional missionary family. To be done when the work in the fields is more slack. 2. Re. school. Scholars cannot be boarded, but such as would come would be instructed several hours each day. Steiner will communicate this to Vann and his sister. 3. Since some of Vann's negroes usually stay around the mission premises over night, decided to read something every night in their hearing. Spangenberg's 'Idea Fidei Fratrum' chosen. 4. Will preach at Vann's any time there is opportunity, but the effort is to be made to hold more and more services at Springplace. 5. When strangers are present the night meetings are to be conducted in English. Tuesday, Prayer-meeting; Wednesday, Bible study; Friday, Passion Litany. 6. Several pastoral calls are to be made, especially to Nancy Vann as she seems a little distand and suspicious.

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9. Ibid.

At the second conference, Steiner was asked to lay before the Brethren in Salem the proposition: Would a young Brother volunteer to live among the Cherokees in order to learn their language; or should the missionaries get an old Cherokee and his wife to live at the mission to teach the missionaries their language?[10]

In pursuance to a resolution adopted in the first conference, a school was opened on March 26, with Sally Vann's yougest daughter as the first and only scholar; Polly Vann, Sally's cousin, entered April 14. When Steiner left late in May, the missionaries were well supplied with garden products and their fields were promising a good harvest. They had "two horses, six head of cattle, eighteen hogs, twenty chickens and nine ducks!"[11]

In the summer and fall of 1803 the mission was enlarged, both in buildings and in the number of missionaries. After Steiner's return to Salem, Rev. John Gambold paid the mission a six-weeks visit, injecting new "life and hope into the situation." The mission house was repaired and two new houses, 20 x 24 feet with 9 foot ceilings, were built. On December 19, Jacob Wohlfahrt and his wife, Elizabeth, arrived as permanent missionaries to Springplace. They brought with them from Salem a load of supplies, including such things as iron, groceries, tools, dry goods,

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10. Ibid., 70.
11. Ibid., 70-72.

cooking utensils, and even buttons, pins, needles and thread.[12]

During 1803 the life of the mission moved on at an even tenor but a crisis developed in the relations with the Cherokees. On June 5 the Indians held a "Talk" at Coetanaula. On June 10 Wohlfahrt received a letter for the missionaries from the chiefs, addressed to him by Major Lovely, Assistant Agent, of the Cherokees. The letter read in part:

> They [the chiefs] observe that a long time has elapsed since school was to be erected for the instruction of their youth in order to prepare their minds to receive the doctrines of religious worship which was proposed to be taught them, and they received the offer of the friendly Society with much satisfaction. At that time some of their people had children of a proper age to receive instruction, but are now grown up and we consider that the Society have fallen through their good intentions towards us, as we discover no prospect of such business going on.

The letter closed by giving the missionaries only until January 1, 1804, to make good the establishment of an Indian school.[13]

The missionaries were perturbed over this message and forwarded the information to the Conference at Salem. The Salem Conference dispatched Abraham Steiner, Martin Schneider, and Jacob Wohlfahrt to the mission to confer with the chiefs. They were instructed to inform the chiefs that

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12. Ibid., 73-74.
13. Letter quoted in ibid., 75.

the prime purpose of the mission was to preach the gospel; but, in addition to the one or two scholars in the missionaries' care, they would receive three or four sons of the chiefs.

On August 16, after an interview with Major Lovely, it was decided to call a meeting of those chiefs who had sent the disconcerting message. The council was held on August 27, 1803, at Vann's place. Chiefs Sour Mush and Chuleoa were spokesmen for the Indians. A letter was read from Colonel R. J. Meigs, then Agent to the Cherokees, by Assistant Agent Major W. L. Lovely. It stated in part:

> I hope you [the chiefs] will not be hasty in what you do. Do not refuse the good things they [the missionaries] are sent to do for your Nation. Give them time; in the course of a year or two years, you will be able to judge better than you can now.

Steiner then delivered the message from the directors in Salem, in which they proposed to board and clothe three or four sons of the chiefs at the mission school. After much discussion Sour Mush and Chuleoa gave a final decision,[14] of which the following was a part:

> This is now the second time we are to make a trial, and we hope those who are now to be instructed by our Brother may be well used, so that, when they return, they may be able to render a good account. And as the Red People are slow in learning, we do agree that one year from next Christmas shall be given to make a beginning by the teachers with four scholars, agreeable to the proposal of the Society.

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14. Ibid., 77-78.

Provisions were so low at Springplace during the fall and winter of 1803-4 that the Brethren decided it would be impossible to board three or four scholars before a new crop should be harvested in the fall of 1804. The Indians became very disgruntled. The missionaries appealed to Colonel Meigs "to reason with them." This he did with satisfactory results, as is shown by the fact that, on his return from a "Talk" at Oostanaula on April 4, he stopped at Springplace to inform the Brethren that the Indians had relented somewhat. Whereas they had previously stipulated that the school must be in good working condition by Christmas of 1804, they had consented at the "Talk" that if the school were started by that time, the Brethren might continue the mission. This gave heart to the missionaries and the school was opened on October 8, with the eight-year old son of Chief Gentleman Tom, a nephew of Chief Bark, and Sally Van as the three scholars.[15] George Hicks, their most promising student, entered the school in November.[16] The chiefs were then interested in the Brethren's work and the mission was saved for a long and useful service.

From 1805 to 1810 the school and mission made some genuine progress. On February 3, 1805, the students were able to pray the Lord's prayer in the Litany; at the end of 1806 they could sing the Te Deum; and in 1808 some of them

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15. Ibid., 80.
16. Ibid.

wrote legible letters to some of the Brethren in Pennsylvania.[17] On October 19, 1805, Rev. and Mrs. John Gambold arrived in Springplace to take the places of Wohlfahrt and his wife, who had asked to be released from service among the Cherokees. Gambold then became a teacher in the school. At the end of the school-year of 1806, there were eight boarding students, but only seven at the end of 1809.[18] Cherokee Agent Colonel R. J. Meigs, a good friend of the mission, without the knowledge of the missionaries advocated their cause to the Secretary of War in April 1809 and procured for them an annual grant of $100 from the government.[19] The government required an annual report of the school for this assistance. The first report was made by Gambold on August 4, 1810, when the second payment was received. An extract shows something of the nature and work of the school:[20]

> Since last I wrote you [Wm. Eustis, Secretary of War] our scholars have advanced in Arithmetic as far as the Rule of Three, made further progress in Reading, Grammar and Writing; learned by heart a little of sacred history and, likewise, the first rudiments of Geography. They advance but slowly and great patience is requisite to lead them on by degrees. Steadiness or perseverance in matters which require exertion of mind is not natural to the Indians, unless it regard those pursuits which are and have been habitual with them from generation to generation. Yet, I must say they are willing children whom we love sincerely and would

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17. Ibid., 83, 87, 108.
18. Ibid., 82-83, 86, 102.
19. Ibid., 101.
20. Ibid., given in full on 107.

gladly sacrifice our days in their service.

On August 13, 1810, Rev. Gambold baptised Mrs. Margaret Vann, widow of James Vann who had been murdered the previous year. Mrs. Vann was a half-breed and was the first Moravian convert of the Cherokees. The baptising took place in a barn beautifully decorated for the occasion. The candidate, dressed in white, entered the large audience of Indians at the proper time and the service began. It was a solemn occasion and a deep impression was made on the Indians. Many wept throughout the service. But it was a day of rejoicing at the mission. The labors of the missionaries were bearing fruits at last.[21]

Here we leave the Moravians for the present to give an account of the Presbyterian Mission among the Upper Cherokees.

II. Presbyterian Mission Schools, 1803-1810.

The founder of the early Presbyterian mission schools among the Upper Cherokees was Gideon Blackburn. This pioneer preacher and educator was born August 27, 1772, in Augusta County, Virginia. While still a youth, he came with an uncle to Tennessee. He was educated for the ministry at Dandridge, Jefferson County, Tennessee, where, in 1794, he was ordained by the Presbyterian Church.[22] In the same year

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21. Ibid., 105-106.
22. See Thomas Pinaker, "Gideon Blackburn, the Founder of Blackburn University, Carlinville, Illinois," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (Oct., 1924.) XVII, 398.

he moved to the field of his first charge in the neighborhood of Fort Craig, soon to be known as Maryville, in Blount County, Tennessee. At that time the Cherokees were at war with the settlers and Blackburn frequently accompanied the soldiers of his charge on their expeditions against them.[23]

These contacts with the Cherokees aroused within Blackburn a zeal for their evangelization. He wrote of his impressions:[24]

> From that moment my mind began to be agitated with the question; Can nothing be done with these people to meliorate their condition? Is it impossible they should be civilized, and become acquainted with the gospel of Christ? Some cheering rays of hope would flash upon my mind when I reflected that they were of the same race with ourselves; that they were able to lay and execute plans with ingenuity and promptness; ....

After stating that he thoroughly considered the plans which had been used in the "abortive" efforts at Indian missions, he further wrote:

> I conceived it therefore indispensable to prepare the mind by the most simple ideas, and by a process which would associate civilization with religious instruction, and thus gradually prepare the rising race for the more sublime truths of religion, as they should view them.

Having conceived the plan of attempting the founding of schools for the purpose of civilizing the Indians

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23. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Maryville, 1807, in The Panoplist, III, 39f.
24. Ibid., 40.

youth, and having prayed much about the matter, Blackburn, in 1799, first broached the subject to the Union Presbytery of East Tennessee, of which he was a member. He was faced, however, with "so many embarrasing difficulties thrown in the way" that he "was forced to yield any further attempts in that way". In the following year, he "laid a plan for a missionary society in that Country, with special reference to this object;" but because of "the scarcity of money and the poverty of the people in the newly settled country,"[25] he was again compelled to abandon the attempt.

In 1803 Blackburn was sent as a delegate from the Union Presbytery to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which met in Philadelphia. Hoping that he might find some way of bringing the subject before that body, he drew up plans for the education of the Cherokee children.[26] Of this he wrote:

> A petition was laid before the Assembly, requesting supplies for our frontiers, in which was noticed the state of the Cherokee nation, as exhibiting a field for missionary service. This was referred to the committee of missions, in answer to whose inquiries I presented the proposed plan, and was requested to undertake its execution; the committee agreeing to give 300 dollars for its support, and to engage my services as a missionary for two months.

Realizing the insufficiency of this sum, the committee also

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25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.

gave him "a letter of recommendation to the public to gain pecuniary aid,....."[27]

Of his return journey from Philadelphia to Maryville, Blackburn wrote: "I collected four hundred and thirty dollars, and some books to be applied by the direction of the committee: Forseeing that many difficulties might obstruct his intercourse with the Cherokees, he "waited on the President of the United States, and by the Secretary of War received letters of recommendation to the Indians, and directions to Colonel Meigs, the agent for Indian affairs, to facilitate my designs."[28]

Immediately upon his return to Tennessee, Blackburn began to represent his mission to all the chief men of the Cherokees with whom he came in contact. He wrote letters to those he failed to see. This he did to give publicity to his cause and to prepare the minds of the Indians for a later conference. He learned from Colonel Meigs that a general assembly of the Cherokees would be held at Southwest Point when the annuity should be distributed in October. The assembly of some two thousand chiefs and warriors met on October 15, in a grove just south of the Tennessee. Blackburn made his proposal in an address to the Council. The Indians took the matter under consideration on the evening of the 20th, and gave the following decision the next day:

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27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.

> We approve of a school being established in our nation under the superintendance of the Revd. Mr. Blackburn, and hope much good will be done by it to our people: two years are allowed in the first place, that we may have an opportunity to see what progress our children make under the instruction of the teachers, and we will send some of our children to the school.

This written statement was signed by The Glass, Speaker of the Nation. A place was then agreed on for the establishment of the school. The site selected was near Hiwassee, on the Hiwassee River, forty-five miles within the nation among the Upper Cherokees.[29]

The distance of the school from the white settlements made it necessary for the teacher to live on the premisses. Mr. Blackburn preferred a man with a family. Such a person was obtained, "who has a decent companion, and one child:- he has entered into bond, and has given sufficient security for his performance."[30]

After much labor and many hardships, Blackburn got all things ready for the opening of school on the 21st of February, 1804. The teacher had been at the place since early in December, familiarizing himself with the children, and making other necessary arrangements. One large house with two fireplaces had been built for the school, and a

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29. Blackburn to Dr. Ashbel Green, Chairman of the Committee of Missions, Maryville, November 3, 1803, in Extracts of the Minutes of the Presbyterian General Assembly, 1804, pp. 35-40.
30. Ibid. I have been unable to learn the names of this family.

smaller one for the teacher's family. "On the first day there came eleven scholars," wrote Mr. Blackburn, "On the 8th of March there were sixteen; on the 27th there were twenty; and several more are expected in a few days, -- as soon as I can get clothing ready for them."[31]

Mr. Blackburn laid down eleven rules by which the teacher and school should be governed. They were in substance: (1) the teacher was always to keep it in view that the object of the school was to "moralize and civilize the Indians, and was to order himself accordingly; (2) the Sabbath was always to be spent in "religious duties"; (3) the teacher was to open and close the school each day with a song and prayer; (4) in all interviews with the Indians, the teacher was to take care to show "a respectful attention to them"; (5) he was to be careful in avoiding the adoption of their manners and habits; (6) all "severity" was to be avoided in the government of the school; (7) the teacher was to direct the children in games played by white children; (8) the teacher was to avoid entering into the disputes and politics of the Cherokee nation; (9) he was "to use his best endeavors to form a vocabulary of the language;" (10) he was to collect as much of the Cherokee history as possible; and (11) he was to "keep a record of the scholars names; exhibit-

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31. Blackburn to Dr. Green, Maryville, April 12, 1804, in ibid.

ing carefully, every month, the progress of each, and marking those who especially excel."[32]

The Hiwassee School was conducted winter and summer without any vacation. Mr. Blackburn wrote of the routine order of the school day:[33]

> The children rise, pray, and wash; then the school opens by reading the scriptures, praise and public prayer; are engaged in lessons till breakfast; then have an hour for recreation; are again engaged from 9 to 12; play 2 hours; then school till evening. In summer, between sundown and dark, and in winter between dark and 9 o'clock, they have spelling lessons, and close by singing a hymn, and prayer by the master. Then, just before the children lie down, on their knees they commit themselves to the guarding arms of their indulgent Parent, and go to rest securely under his wing.

Mr. Blackburn laid much stress on music because he believed it both prepared the minds of the children for further instruction and was a "useful means to open the minds of the parents to hear the truths designed to be communicated to them." He wrote: "I will not say music can transform, but sure I am, it has a remarkable tendency to soften the savage mind." Therefore, he had the children commit to memory a great number of religious hymns.[34]

The students were clothed and boarded gratuitiously.

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32. Ibid.
33. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Maryville, November 10, 1807, in The Panoplist (1808), III; 332.
34. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Maryville, Tennessee, 1807, in The Panoplist, III, 84.

"The school house was so constructed that it might serve the children to eat in, and be comfortable for the lodging of the males." The girls slept at the home of the teacher. Beds were at that time unknown among the Cherokees so it was necessary to provide blankets for the children, in which they might roll themselves and sleep on the floors. This was a considerable item of expense, and, for the lack of funds in the fall of 1804, came near wrecking the institution. Happily, the crisis was overcome, however, by Mr. Blackburn, who took his troubles to Colonel Meigs and one of the chiefs. The name of each child was turned in on the Indians' annuity list. When the annuity was distributed in October, Blackburn drew twenty-six blankets and "two other articles" for the students.[35] "The children were all neatly clothed, mostly in stripped cotton, or plain linen, manufactured in Tennessee, and made up by the Master's wife, as each scholar stood in need." The ladies of Rev. Blackburn's church at Maryville "were often active in furnishing part of this supply," especially the clothing of the girls.[36]

In the summer of 1805, the Hiwassee school contained twenty-five to thirty students. At about this time the United States government authorized a treaty to be held with the Cherokees. The place selected for the making of the treaty

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35. Ibid., 84,322.
36. Ibid., 322.

was situated in a large grove on the Hiwassee River, some twenty-five miles above its mouth and about twelve miles by land below the school. At this place, early in July, between two and three hundred white people assembled with the principal chiefs and many of the common Indians. In order to give his school "a taste of civilization," on July 4 Blackburn took his twenty-five pupils to council. Of the trip down the river in a canoe, he wrote:

> Figure to yourself 25 little savages of the forest, all seated in a large canoe, the teacher at one end and myself at the other, steering our course down the stream, a distance by water of nearly 30 miles.

When he arrived at the place of the meeting, the students were introduced, "marching in procession between the open ranks of white and red spectators." Each scholar gave a requested reading; the different classes then spelled without the book; specimens of their writing and ciphering were shown; and the exercise closed by the children singing "a hym or two" from memory. Many of the spectators were moved to tears. Governor Sevier, commissioner for Tennessee, coming to Blackburn, said: "I have often stood unmoved amidst showers of bullets from the Indian rifles; but this effectually unmoves me. I see civilization taking the ground of barbarism, and the praise of Jesus succeeding to the War whoops of the savage." As Sevier was talking: "All this time the tears were stealing down his manly cheeks." At the close

of the treaty, the commissioners for the United States, R. J. Meigs and Daniel Smith, handed Blackburn a written expression of thanks for the work he was accomplishing among the Cherokees.[37]

The effect of this exhibition of the school upon the Indians was such as to cause them to apply immediately to Blackburn for the establishment of a second school to be located in the lower district of their nation. He had no instructions or funds from the Committee for such an undertaking, but of his own means he complied with the request. By August 26, 1805, he had a second school started, with from twenty-five to thirty students in attendance.[38] After getting the new school under way, Blackburn made application to the Committee for its support. They took up the matter with the General Assembly at its meeting in the summer of 1806, but to no avail.[39] The reply of that body was:

> Rev. Gideon Blackburn has been animated by a comendable zeal in establishing a second Indian school in the state of Tennessee, which the Assembly would earnestly recommend to the patronage of charitable and liberal individuals; yet the Assembly are at present unable to pledge their funds in any degree, for the support of said School.

This placed Blackburn in an embarrassing position. He was in debt, his health was broken, and a lower limb was wasting away in excruciating pain, and his church in Mary-

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37. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Dec. 14, 1807, in ibid., 416.
38. Ibid. I could not find, in accounts available, the name or exact location of the second school.
39. Extracts of the Minutes of the General Assembly, 1806, 131.

ville was too poverty stricken to come to his rescue. But nevertheless he exerted himself to save this second school. In the spring of 1806 he made a tour of the South in its behalf, of which he wrote: "....I collected upwards of 1500 dollars, and at the same time was relieved almost miraculously from my bodily afflictions."[40]

The Union Presbytery appointed Joshua B. Lapsley and Isaac Anderson as a committee to inspect the Hiwassee Indian school and to report upon it. The committee made their visit to the school on January 1, 1807. They reported that the school consisted of forty-five to fifty scholars, whose progress in education perhaps was not excelled in any school amongst the whites. They closed their report with the statement:[41]

> We highly approve the method of teaching and the order of the school, and the children appear to have as just conceptions of order, and as cheerfully to submit to discipline as any children.

During the first three years of the existence of the Hiwassee school, Gideon Blackburn was employed by the General Assembly as missionary for two months of each year.[42] In 1807 he was so employed for three months;[43] and for 1809, for six months.[44] The General Assembly granted $200 annually

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40. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Jan. 15, 1808, The Panoplist, XII, 475.
41. Blackburn to Dr. Morse, Maryville, Tenn. 1807, in ibid., 84.
42. Extracts of the Minutes of the General Assembly, 1805, 100; 1806, 132.
43. Ibid., 1807, 164.
44. Ibid., 1809, 217.

to the Hiwassee school in 1804 and in 1805; but for 1806, and each year thereafter, the annual grant was $500.[45]

In 1810 Mr. Blackburn was appointed missionary to another district, and it was recommended by the General Assembly, "That the Committee of Missions be authorized to employ as many more missionaries as the funds will bear; and particularly that they be authorised to send a missionary to the Cherokee nation, and if necessary appropriate to that mission as much money as has hitherto been appropriated."[46] But when, in 1810 Gideon Blackburn left the Cherokees, the Presbyterian schools died. The General Assembly at its meeting of 1811 readopted the above resolution of 1810; and again in 1812 it resolved to revive the Cherokee mission in conjunction with the New Jersey Missionary Society, but this was never done.[47] For several years after 1810, the Moravian mission and school at Springplace was the only missionary effort in the Cherokee nation.

III. Further Progress of the Moravians at Springplace.

During the years of 1811 and 1812 a few events of importance occurred at Springplace. A Mr. Godfrey Haga, a wealthy Moravian merchant of Philadelphia, in 1811, read in the Missionary Journal of the Springplace mission and its needs.

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45. Ibid., 1805, 331; 1806, 132; 1807, 164; 1809, 217.
46. Ibid., 1810, 267.
47. Ibid., 1811, 333; 1812, 9.

He at once sent Mr. Gambold $100, at the same time requesting information as how he might be of further aid. He continued thereafter to send contributions to the mission's financial support, which, with the $100 annually received from the United States government, put the mission on a more substantial financial footing. At this time, in 1811, the Cherokee Chiefs sent information to Gambold to the effect that the Brethren might expand their work at will and that they could dwell in the land of the Cherokees in perfect safety. At last the mission was becoming deservedly popular with the Indians. The mission, however, suffered a severe loss the following year in the return of the Byhans to Salem. Mr. and Mrs. Byhan voluntarily resigned their posts because of Mrs. Byhan's failin health, and their places were not refilled in the period under consideration. This event left the mission with only two missionaries and one outside helper, Joseph Gambold, and older brother of the missionary.[48]

The growth of the Church at Springplace was slow. The second convert, Assistant Principal Chief Charles Hicks, was baptized into the church on April 16, 1813. He was then forty-six years old. His rising influence among his people made him a valuable asset to the mission. Upon hearing of his baptism, Colonel Meigs wrote to Gambold:[49]

> Mr. Charles Hick's being added to the Church of Christ is an acquisition and will have an

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48. Schwarze, op. cit., 116-19.
49. Ibid., 119., We will hear more of Hicks later on.

> effect to strengthen your hands. His example will, I hope, be followed. The enemies of religion cannot say that the weak and ignorant only are made converts; for it may with truth be said that the most intelligent of both sexes have been added to the flock of the Redeemer in the Cherokee Nation.

Joseph Crutchfield, a Methodist who had married Mrs. Margaret Vann, was received a s a member of the mission church at the end of August, 1814. The church was then composed of the missionaries, Rev. John Gambold and his wife, Crutchfield and his wife, and Charles Hicks--five members, which was the status of its membership at the end of 1818.[50]

In the War of 1813, the Cherokees participated in Andrew Jackson's campaign against the Creek Indians. Hicks was among the Cherokees who went on the campaign. The missionaries were much concerned for his safety. On November 13, 1813, they were rejoiced to receive word from him stating that the Creeks had sued for peace. Hicks returned from the campaign in time to attend the Christmas Eve Lovefeast, "which was held with the mission house crowded to its utmost capacity." Colonel Meigs sent a letter to the missionaries, early in 1814 which stated:[51]

> I rejoice with you at the termination of the Creek war. I never told you that I had at times some apprehension of your not being perfectly safe; but I hope your fears from that quarter are at an end forever.

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51. Ibid., 121.
52. Ibid., 120.

The school at Springplace continued throughout these years with an average daily attendance of ten or twelve students. Mrs. Gambold did all the teaching except for the class in religious instruction, which was taught by Mr. Gambold.[52] The daily routine for the students was to kneel together for prayer upon rising in the morning, breakfast, then school till noon, intermission until three o'clock, school from three o'clock until supper. If there was work to be done on the farm, the boys helped Mr. Gambold do it in the hours of the afternoon intermission. When there was no work, the students employed the vacant period in Indian sports.[53] Henry Steinhauer, principal of the Young Ladies Seminary, Bethelem, Pennsylvania, from 1816 until his death in 1818, wrote of the Springplace school shortly before his death:[54]

> The Moravian mission at Springplace-.... has now been conducted for some years with unparalleled perseverance by Brother John Gambold, ably assisted by his wife. They have kept school with ten or twelve Indian youths, who have, under their care, attained to a respectable degree of education. Three or four of them give hopes of having attained to practical knowledge of the Truth and two, 'Buck' and Leonard Hicks, will probably pursue their studies in the mission college of New England with a view to future usefulness among their countrymen.

This last statement had reference to a seminary for the

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52. Ibid., 115.
53. Ibid., 114-15
54. Ibid., 113.

education of heathen youth which was being conducted at that time by the Congregationalists at Cornwall, Connecticut. Hither 'Buck' and Leonard Hicks were sent in 1818.[55]

IV. The Beginning of the Congregationalist Cherokee Mission at Chickamauga, 1816-1818.

Through the influence of Adoniram Judson, the son of a Congregationalist preacher, and other Congregationalist students at Andover Theological Seminary in 1811, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized.[56] After the sending out of several missionaries to India in 1812, many friends of the Board became interested in the evangelization of the heathen at home. Accordingly, in the summer of 1816, the Board employed Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury of Ipswich, Massachusetts, as their missionary to the Cherokee Indians.[57]

On His journey to the Cherokee country, Mr. Kingsbury stopped in Washington to interview the heads of the departments of the government relative to his undertaking. His plans for establishing a mission and school among the Cherokees met with approval by President Madison, with the exception that he advised the establishment of several small

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55. Ibid., 109.
56. H. C. Vedder, Short History of the Baptists, 330.
57. The Panoplist, (August 1817.(, XIII, 384.

schools in preference to one large mission station. The government was very much interested in the promotion of Indian education and the introduction of domestic arts among them. So the President, through the Secretary of War, informed Mr. Kingsbury that Colonel Meigs, agent to the Cherokees, would be instructed to erect a house for the missionaries, and a school house, and to furnish two plows, six hoes, and the same number of axes, as a beginning. Other buildings would be erected, and other domestic tools would be furnished, by the government as the needs arose. In return for this aid, the government only required that a report of the work and progress of the school be made annually.[58] With this assurance of the government's co-operation in the plans of the Board, Kingsbury resumed his journey to the Cherokee Indian Agency, located near the juncture of the Hiwassee and Tennessee Rivers.

In the spring of 1816, Colonel Meigs had gone with a deputation of Cherokees to Washington to attend a treaty meeting. Two treaties resulted from that meeting: by the first the Cherokees ceded the remainder of their lands in South Carolina for the sum of $5000; by the second treaty a boundary dispute, which had grown out of the late Creek war, was settled between the Cherokees and the Creeks.[59] When Kingsbury arrived at the agency, he found Colonel Meigs

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58. Ibid., 384.
59. American State Papers, VII, 88-89.

about to set out on a journey of some one hundred and twenty miles to Turkeytown, near the present Center, Alabama, to attend a general Cherokee-Creek council, which had been appointed for the purpose of ratifying the last named treaty of boundaries. This fitted into Kingsbury's plans exactly. By attending the council he would have opportunity to confer with the Cherokee chiefs about his mission. Therefore, he joined Colonel Meigs on his journey. They left Hiwassee on September 25, and arrived at Turkeytown in ample time for the opening of the council, which began late in September, 1816.[60]

When the chief business of the council had been dispatched, Kingsbury received his opportunity to present his mission.[61] He wrote of the same:

> After the treaty was ratified, General Andrew Jackson very politely introduced the subject of schools and urged the importance of educating their children. I then stated distinctly the object of the society in sending me out. I told them we would take their children, teach them freely without money. That we would feed as many as we could and furnish some c clothes to those that are poor. That as we could teach more than we could feed, if the parents wanted to pay their board, we would teach all such freely. That we would teach their duty to parents, to their fellow creatures, and to the Great Spirit, the Father of us all. I further told them that if they wished to have the school that they must let me know it, that I might inform those who sent me;

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60. Kingsbury to Dr. Samuel Worcester, Washington, Rhea County, Tenn., Oct. 15, 1816, in Robert S. Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 17-18.
61. Ibid., 18.

> that they must permit us to cultivate land, to raise corn, and other things for ourselves and for the children, that we should wish to have one or two families settle at the school and perhaps one or two mechanics.

When Kingsbury had finished, and after a brief consultation, one of the chiefs took him by the hand and said:

> I had appeared in their full council, that they had listened to what had been said and understood it. They were glad to see me; that they wished to have the school established and hoped it would be of great advantage to the nation.

They then appointed a chief, The Glass, to go with him when he wished to locate a place for the mission. Kingsbury agreed with The Glass to meet him on October 24 for that purpose.[62]

Kingsbury faithfully kept his appointment with The Glass and in due time he was able to report to the Board that he was making progress. In his search for a location, he was confronted with the questions: what subjects to teach: What kind of an institution was needed? What kind of provision should be made so as to take care of the largest number of students at the least expense? His object was to impart knowledge that would make useful citizens and pious Christians. Inorder "to carry out the grand object," it appeared necessary to instruct in various branches of common English education, to form habits of industry, and to

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62. Ibid., 19.

give knowledge of the economy of civilized life. For the accomplishment of these ends, he desired to locate near a settlement of whites, and he wanted a farm large enough to utilize the labor of the male students, while the girls were being taught cooking and the manufacture of cloth. At Chickamauga he found such a location. There was a Scotchman there who had married into the tribe, and who wished to move elsewhere. For $500, he offered Kingsbury his plantation, which included twenty-five acres of cleared land, improvements and buildings. Kingsbury contracted with him for the property and notified the Board. He also advised the Board that the buildings on the plantation that he had contracted for were sufficient for a begining, excepting a school house and perhaps a dwelling for the missionaries; and if the Board approved of his plans and the purchase, he hoped to open school in February.[63]

Upon the receipt of the above report from Kingsbury, the matter of a Cherokee mission was referred to the Prudential Committee, which lost no time in doing what was necessary on their part for the proposed commencement of the establishment. They approved of the purchase of the plantation and set about sending forward two missionary families. Messrs. Moody Hall and Loring S. Williams, two young men who had been employed as teachers, were at

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63. Kingsbury to Dr. Worcester, Sec. of the Board, Knoxville, Nov. 25, 1816, in Walker, op. cit., 32-34.

once requested to get themselves in readiness for their departure for the station. They answered the call with gladness. On January 22, 1817, they sailed from New York, with their wives as their assistants, and arrived at Savannah, Georgia, on January 30; thence they proceeded over land by the way of Augusta to Chickamauga, where they arrived on March 7, to be welcomed by Kingsbury.[64]

The school house and the dwelling house, which the Secretary of War had instructed Colonel Meigs to provide for the benefit of the mission, had not been erected, because of the failure of the contractor. "This", wrote Mr. Kingsbury, "has subjected us to great inconvenience and much expense. We have been obliged to build four log cabins for dwelling houses. These will accomodate our school when our other houses are erected."[65] Later in the year, a "commodious dwelling house," a school house, and a mill were built by the missionaries. By the end of 1817, the plantation was "prety amply stocked" with horses, cows, sheep, swine, and poultry.[66]

In the fall of 1817, the Chickamauga school contained "twenty or thirty Cherokee and half-cast children and youth, male and female," who were taught common "English school learning" and domestic and agricultural arts.[67]

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64. "The Report of the Prudential Committee", The Panoplist (Nov. 1817.), XIII, 508-512.
65. Ibid.
66. "Address of the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M.", The Panoplist (Jan. 1818.), XIV, 26-27.
67. Ibid.

In October and November, 1817, Rev. Elias Cornelius, agent of the A. B. C. F. M., visited Chickamauga en route to the Creeks and Choctaws. While there he held several conferences with various chiefs, relative to the establishing of other schools and missions among the Cherokees. Before leaving, he wrote:" I can scarcely conceive how it is possible for the door of admission into this nation to be thrown open more wide than it is at present."[68]

In the fall of 1817, Rev. Ard Hoyt and his wife volunteered for missionary service among the Cherokees. William Chamberlain, a young man of twenty-five years, was a member of Mr. Hoyt's family. Mr. Hoyt had trained him for a missionary to the heathen. He was ordained for the ministry on November 12, 1817, and also volunteered to go to the Cherokees. The Hoyts and Chamberlain were accepted by the Board. Mr. Hoyt and family left Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, early in November, proceeded to Philadelphia, and embarked for Savannah, where they arrived on the 27th. Rev. Daniel Buterick, another new missionary, sailed from Boston in the middle of November, and joined the Hoyts in Savannah. The missionary company then journeyed by the way of Augusta to Chickamauga,[69] where they arrived on January 13, 1818.[70] Chamberlain

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68. The Panoplist (Dec., 1817.), XIII, 512ff.
69. Ibid., 568-9.
70. Walker, op. cit., 43.

made his journey overland by the way of Pittsburgh[71] and arrived at Chickamauga on March 10, 1818.[72] Soon after the arrival of the Hoyts and Buterick at the mission, Rev. Kingsbury and Mr. and Mrs. Williams were sent by the Board to the Choctaws in Mississippi. Mr. Buterick then became superintendent of the Chickamauga mission.[73] After these changes the personnel of the mission for 1818 consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Hall, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. and Mrs Hoyt, and superintendent Buterick. On his return from the visit to the Choctaws, Rev. Cornelius stopped for a few days at Chickamauga in May, 1818; and while there, he renamed the mission "Brainerd," in honor of David Brainerd, famous missionary to the Indians of the Northwest of an earlier day.[74]

V. The Beginning of the Baptist Mission Among the Middle Cherokees of North Carolina, 1817-1818.

By a strange coincidence of history the Baptists were led to begin organized mission efforts among the Cherokees through the instrumentality and influence of the same persons who influenced the Congregationalists to establish the Brainerd mission. In 1812 Adoniram Judson and his wife, Ann Hasseltine Judson, and Luther Rice were sent out as Missionaries to India by the A. B. C. F. M. which they had helped

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71. The Panoplist (Dec. 1817), XIII, 568-9.
72. Walker, op. cit., 44.
73. Ibid., 42.
74. Ibid., 21.

to organize. On their way to Calcutta they were converted to the Baptist faith. Arriving at their destination, they were baptized and announced to the world their denominational change. They were at once cut off from the denominational support of the Congregationalists. Mr. Rice returned to the United States in 1813 for the purpose of enlisting Baptist support of the new foreign missionaries. He toured the Southern and Western states in the interest of missions. The result was the calling together of the leading Baptists of America in a meeting held at Boston on May 8, 1814. At that time and place was organized the Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions. Dr. Furman of South Carolina was elected president, and Dr. Staughton, corresponding secretary. The Convention itself became known as the "Triennial Convention," from the fact that it met once every three years, and the Board of the Convention was located in Boston.[75] In addition to the adoption of the Judsons as their first foreign missionaries, at the second meeting of the Convention in May of 1817, the Baptists arranged for the employment of two missionaries to the Indians.[76]

On June 23, 1817, Rev. Humphery Posey received a communication from the corresponding secretary of the Board, Dr. Staughton, relative to an appointment as missionary to

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75. Thomas Armitage, History of the Baptists, 814.
76. Ibid., 844.

the Cherokees. Rev. Posey was then located in Haywood County, North Carolina. In his reply to Staughton, he gave an account of his conversion and union with the Baptist church of Greenville, South Carolina, in 1802, and of his long standing interests in the Cherokees. He promised to go into the Cherokee nation and confer with the Indians about opening school among them; and to report to the Board the outlook, including an estimate of the necessary expenses for the undertaking.[77]

In the early fall of 1817, Mr. Posey made two visits into the Cherokee nation on the headwaters of the Hiwassee River, of which he informed the Board: "According to the request made I have taken two journeys among the Cherokee Indians, much to my satisfaction. I found them anxious that I should continue to visit them." Edward Tucker, who was "a native by birth but a mulatto," accompanied Posey as interpreter. They visited several towns of the Middle Cherokees and Tucker "took a great deal of pains to inform them about my business. They almost universially seemed pleased, and I conversed with them about schools." Posey agreed with the Indians to open one school at Tucker's house and "one or two more" elsewhere, "even should I pay for them myself, in order to see how they would answer." He was "persuaded" that "a great deal might be done in this

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77. Humphery Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Haywood Co., North Carolina, Aug. 26, 1817, in Latter-Day Luminary, I, 44-45.

section" if the Board "should undertake it on a large scale."[78]

On November 14, Mr. Posey received the announcement from the Board that he had been appointed, on October 13, as missionary to the Cherokees. He replied immediately: "I wish to communicate to the Board, that with gratitude, I accept this work."[79] He began his work on December 1, and soon had completed the arrangements for the begining of four three-months schools. Four teachers were employed at a salary of $40 per month each, who were capable of teaching "the first principles of language." Three of the schools were in the Indian towns of Tillanoocy, Eastatory, and Cowee--all in North Carolina. Mr. Posey did not give the location of the fourth school, at Tucker's house.[80] Of the work in the schools,[81] he reported:

> The progress of the Indians surpass my most sanguine hopes. I visited one school on the next day after its commencement, and found a number able to show any letter in the alphabet and name it...Their anxiety appears great to obtain information; they know there is something in the Bible to which they are strangers and they want to understand it.

Later Mr. Posey wrote of visiting the school at Cowee on

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78. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Haywood, N. C., Nov. 6, 1817, in Latter-Day Luminary, I, 45-46.
79. Posey to the Corresponding Sec., Asheville, N. C., Nov. 14, 1817, in ibid., 46-47.
80. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Haywood Co., N. C., March 13, 1818, in ibid., 154-155.
81. Ibid.

April 13, 1818, and "saw upwards of twenty Indians in school improving smartly."[82]

Most of the winter of 1818 was spent by Mr. Posey in preaching to the whites and Indians along Fine's Creek and Scott's Creek, and to the Indians on the upper Hiwassee, in North Carolina. In late February he made a tour that extended into South Carolina. There he found that most of the Indians could speak English. Beginning on February 23, he held a week's meeting for the Baptists of Pendleton, South Carolina, and received an offering for his Indian Schools. In March Mr. Posey made a trip into upper Georgia. He preached in the court houses of Franklin and Jackson, and returned to North Carolina by the way of the upper Chattahoochee country. He was accompanied on a part of his return journey by an aged Baptist minister of Jackson, whose name was Thomas Brown. Mr. Posey learned from Brown that he and three other Georgia Baptist ministers had been employed by the Sarepta Baptist Missionary Society as missionaries to the Cherokees in Georgia for that year.[83]

In the early summer of 1818, the United States government and the Cherokees were trying to make a treaty, by which the Cherokees would exchange a part of their lands east of the Mississippi River for a reservation in Arkansas. This

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82. Posey to the Corresponding Sec., Haywood Co., N. C., June 1, 1818, in ibid., 188.
83. Ibid., 187.

caused so much confusion and so unsettled the Cherokees that Mr. Posey closed his schools at the end of one quarter's work. In June and July he made an extensive tour through the Cherokee nation, attending one of the treaty councils. He reported to his mission Board that he "found a great anxiety pervading among the Cherokees for school establishments as soon as they could determine what part of their land would be occupied by them....," and they were expecting him "to attend to the fixing of schools whenever their business was settled."[84]

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84. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Waynesville, North Carolina, March 11, 1819, in ibid., 411.

Chapter III

A DECADE OF EXPANSION AND PROGRESS, 1819--1829.

As the period from 1800 to 1818 was an era of beginnings for missions and schools among the Cherokee, so was the following decade an era of expansion and progress for the same institutions. One of the chief factors which determined the large degree of success attained by the various mission institutions was the enlarged Indian policy adopted by the United States Government at the beginning of the era under consideration.

I. An Enlarged Governmental Policy for Civilizing the Indians.

Early in 1809 President Jefferson gave the Lower Cherokees written permission to locate a Cherokee settlement on unoccupied government lands along the Arkansas and White rivers, with the stipulation that if such settlements were made, proper land adjustments would be made by a future treaty between the Cherokees and the United States. At various times from that date until 1818, bands of Cherokees moved west of the Mississippi and settled north of the Arkansas along White River. On July 8, 1818, the United States and the Cherokees signed a treaty, by which the Cherokees ceded Lower Cherokee territory for territory in the West, acre for acre. The government also agreed to furnish flat-boats to convey down the Tennessee River and

across the Mississippi all Cherokees who wished to migrate.[1] This treaty caused considerable confusion and dissatisfaction among the Cherokees, as has already been mentioned. To allay this unrest, and to adjust points of disputes, the supplementary treaty of Washington was signed by the Cherokees and the United States on February 27, 1819. Calhoun's Treaty By that treaty, among other things, the Cherokees ceded to the United States a body of land twelve miles square, lying along the north bank of the Tennessee River north of the intersection of the Madison County line, Alabama Territory, and the Tennessee River. This land was to be sold by the government, and the proceeds were to be used for the education of the Cherokees east of the Mississippi.[2]

A second important feature of the government's enlarged Indian policy was an act of Congress, passed March 3, 1819, entitled: "An Act making Provision for the Civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements." That law authorized the President to spend $10,000 annually in the way he saw most suitable for the advancement of civilization among the bordering Indian tribes.[3]

As Indian affairs were at that time under the supervision of the War Department, the duty of making annual reports to Congress relative to the above appropriations

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1. American State Papers, VIII, 129-131.
2. Ibid., 187-188.
3. Annals of Congress, 15 Cong, 2 Sess., App., 25-27.

devolved upon the Secretary of War. Mr. Calhoun made the first report on January 17, 1820. He stated that no part of the appropriation for 1819 had been spent, but it was hoped that a beginning could be made in the spring of 1820. The President was of the opinion that the best results could be obtained by applying the money to the aid of societies and individuals "disposed to devote their time and efforts" to the objects contemplated by the law. To that end, on September 3, 1819, the Secretary of War had dispatched a circular to each society and individual interested,[4] explaining the President's policy. The circular read in part:

> In order to render the sum of $10,000 annually appropriated at the last session of Congress for the civilization of the Indian as extensively beneficial as possible, the President is of an opinion that it ought to be applied in cooperation with the exertions of benevolent associations, or individuals who may choose to devote their time or means, to effect the object contemplated by the act of Congress.
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> But it will be indispensable, in order to apply any portion of the sum appropriated in the manner proposed, that the plan of education, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, should, in the instruction of the boys, be increased to the practical knowledge of agriculture and such mechanical arts as are suited to the condition of the Indian; and in that of the girls, spinning, weaving and sewing.

The circular further required that those already engaged in educating Indians, who desired the cooperation of the

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4. Ann. of Cong., 16 Cong., 1 Sess., 914-15.

[redacted] government, should report to the Secretary of War the location of their work, their funds, the number of Indian students, their plans of education, and the amount of aid they requested.[5]

The Moravians, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists complied with the requirements stipulated in the above circular and received handsome sums for their Cherokee missions, as will be noted later. At Springplace, Brainerd, and Valley Towns, in 1820-21, a general policy of enlargement was followed. More and larger buildings were erected; mills and blacksmith shops were built; a greater acreage was put under cultivation; and the teaching and assisting staffs were considerably augmented. A general spirit of progress followed and the Cherokees made a great stride in the direction of civilization. Let us now consider the work of the missions separately.

II. The Moravians at Springplace.

Upon receipt of the circular from the Secretary of War, the Brethren at Salem applied for government aid for their mission at Springplace, Georgia. In due time they were granted an annual appropriation of $250 for their school, beginning with 1820. The government further agreed to bear two-thirds of their future building expenses.[6]

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5. American State Papers, VIII, 201.
6. Schwarze, Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes, 113; American State Papers, VIII, 272.

In November 1819, the missionaries, with hired labor, completed their first church building at Springplace. Inasmuch as the building was also used for school purposes, it is very probable that two-thirds of its cost was later borne by the government. Previous to the erection of this building, the preaching services of the mission had been conducted in Rev. Gambold's residence.[7]

A spirit of revival became manifest at Springplace in the late summer of 1819. When news to that effect arrived in Salem, the Helpers Conference dispatched Abraham Steiner on a six-weeks official visit to the mission. He arrived at Springplace on October 6, and aided the missionaries in their services. Steiner wrote to Salem of his observations and experiences.[8] Of the meeting, he wrote:

> It is wonderful what grace can do! I learned to know Mother Vann and others 19 years ago, and where at that time there was darkness and indifference, if not hostility, now they look bright and happy and are enjoying the merits of the Saviour's death and life. What was opposed of the Gospel now has become evangelist: especially Mother Vann tries to lead all her relatives to Christ.

By the end of 1820, the revival had resulted in the addition of six Indian converts to the church.[9] The growth of the church was slow but steady. At the close of 1829 its membership consisted of only forty baptized adults, including

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7. Schwarze, op. cit., 129.
8. Ibid., 114, 126.
9. Ibid., 143.

the missionaries then on duty.[10]

The school at Springplace was never imposing in number of students in attendance in any given year. From its begining in 1804 to the time of Steiner's visit in October of 1810, about seventy Indians had received some instruction. Of the school's influence upon the Indians, Steiner wrote to Salem:[11]

> That he could clearly see the influence the school at Springplace had had on the Cherokee Nation. The training there received by the scholars was reflected in the homes of their parents. In these homes there were well-being, contentment purety. In addition to their studies, the boys learned to cultivate the land and the girls, spinning, weaving, sewing and knitting....Pegular religious instruction was held, as part of the curriculum, and each Christmas a public examination in Bible and Cristian Doctrine took place and awards were given.

From 1805 to 1821, Rev. John Gambold and his wife were the only teachers of the school. In April of 1821 they were succeeded by John Renatus Schmidt and his wife from Ontario.[12] At the close of their first year's work, the Schmidts had eighteen students in school--fifteen boys and three girls. Each of them received a present of a small book in May 1822, "ent by a little girl of Philadelphia, who, having read of the poor Cherokee children and the school begun among them, had denied herself the use of sugar in her tea and saved

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10. Ibid., 184.
11. Ibid., 114.
12. Ibid., 138, 157.

enough money in this way to buy the books."[13]

The school moved along at an even tenor for the next five years without any apparent gain. On November 11, 1827, the Schmidts were sent to another station, and were succeeded by a former missionary, Gottlieb Byhan, and his wife as teachers, with their son, Nathanael, as helper in the school. The students then numbered thirteen--all boys, for in that year arrangements were made for the girls to attend another school.[14] During the remaining two years of this period, the only notable change that took place at Springplace was the erection of a "commodious" dwelling house for the missionaries in 1829.[15]

1. Oochgelogy, a daughter station of Springplace.

In 1819, the Cherokees built a new council House and established a new capital for their nation, which they named New Echota, situated about thirty miles south of Springplace on the Coosa River near what is now Calhoun, Georgia. Within some four miles of the new capital was an Indian settlement by the name of Oochgelogy, where some three or four members of the Springplace church lived. Early in 1820 they made application to the Moravians in Salem for another mission station. Their letter read in part:[16]

We take this opportunity to write you

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13. Ibid., 170.
14. Ibid., 182.
15. Ibid., 184.
16. William Hicks and others to Directors of the Society, in Schwarze, op. cit., 137.

> about the settlement at Cochgelogy and the prospects for a mission and school here, which e conceive would be an advantage for usefulness to our rising generation. Besides, it will be the means of bringing some of our red brethren and sisters to our Lord and Saviour and without doubt it will be a populous settlement near here in a short time. We trust that this plea will occupy your minds in deliberations in sending some of the Brethren and Sisters who may live near to us to teach and instruct us....

After considerable difficulty had been experienced in finding suitable parties to relieve Rev. John Gambold and his wife at Springplace, the directors at Salem responded to the above plea. Mr. and Mrs. Gambold were assigned the task of opening the new station. They were packed and ready for their journey to Cochgelogy in the spring of 1821, when Mrs. Gambold sickened and died. Mr. Gambold left Springplace on April 11, and arrived at Cochgelogy the next day.[17]

When Mr. Gambold arrived, his friends at Cochgelogy were engaged in building him a dwelling. He accepted an invitation of Mr. Crutchfield, a member of the Springplace church, to make his home with him until the new house was completed. In June 1821, Mr. Gambold moved into his new quarters on his sixty-second birthday. In May 1822, he was instructed by the Helpers Conference at Salem to purchase Mr. Crutchfield's property for the sum of $547.

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17. Ibid., 156-158.

That property consisted of a new, unfinished, two-story house, 30 x 36 feet, surrounded by some fifteen acres of cleared land. Mr. Gambold designed to use the lower story of the building for a dwelling, and the upper story was to be used for a school and mission meetings. He received $800 from the United States government to be applied on the building, which he finished in the fall of 1822.[18]

In May, 1823, Johan George Proske, of Salem arrived at Oochgelogy as teacher for the school that was to be started later. Proske spent some two years in making arrangements for the begining of his work. In the meantime, Rev. Gambold visited Salem in October, 1823, returning to Oochgelogy in the following May with his second wife. Finally, in July 1824, Proske opened his school with ten students, three boys and seven girls. Mrs. Gambold served as assistant teacher.[19]

In November, 1825, Proske resigned as teacher at Oochgelogy and returned to Salem. A single lady, Miss Maria Rosina Gambold, daughter of Joseph Gambold at Springplace, came from Salem to take charge of the school. She was accompanied by Henry Clayton and his wife, who were sent as assistants in the work of the farm and household at Springplace. Miss Gambold continued the school at Oochgelogy

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18. Ibid., 158-159; American State Papers, VIII, 443.
19. Schwarze, op. cit., 160-161.

as it had been started until November, 1827. On the seventh of that month, Rev. Gambold died. A complete shift in the personnel of the missions at Springplace and Oochgelogy immediately followed. The Byhans took charge at Springplace, as has already been mentioned, and the Schmidts were transferred to Oochgelogy.[20] After a stay of one year, the Schmidts resigned and were succeeded by Franz Fber and his wife in November, 1828. At the same time Henry G. Clauder was put in charge of the school. An arrangement was effected with Springplace, whereby the school there should be conducted in the future for boys only, while the school at Oochgelogy should be only for girls. In 1829 the school consisted of twelve students. Clauder taught them in the morning and Mrs. Fber taught them domestic arts in the afternoons.[21]

The spiritual growth of Oochgelogy was slow. "There was no numbrical increase in the yeare 1821-1826";[22] but at the close of 1827, the number of communicants and children in the mission had been increased to thirty-one.[23] The next year, three Indians were added to the fellowship of the mission by baptism.[24]

III. The Congregationalists at Brainerd.

At the close of 1819 the Brainerd missionaries had

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20. Ibid., 162, 165.
21. Ibid., 167.
22. Ibid., 162.
23. Ibid., 166.
24. Ibid., 166.

some fifty acres of land under cultivation. About seventy Cherokee youths and children, male and female, were being supported and instructed; and the number was increasing. The communicants of the church consisted of thirteen "exemplary converts," besides the white members. In compliance with the earnest desire of the Cherokees, the missionaries had decided to establish local schools, as branches of the Brainerd mission, as fast as practicable, in the most eligible places.[25]

But funds were needed for the support of this policy of expansion. When the American Board for Foreign Missions received the communication from the Secretary of War relative to Indian civilization, it made application for government aid. On April 5, 1820, the government granted the Brainerd mission an annual allowance of $1000 as a tuition fund.[26] In addition to the tuition allowances granted to the various schools, the government also bore a considerable part of their building expenses. For example, on April 17, 1821, $2,233 was sent to Colonel Meigs, Cherokee agent, to be paid out largely for that purpose.[27] The exact amount which the Brainerd mission received for such aid is not known; but enough was received, together with the above tuition allowance, to make possible a rapid advancement in the work.

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25. R. S. Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 67-70.
26. American State Papers, VIII, 272.
27. Ibid.

Accordingly, on May 9, 1830, Mr. Moody Hall opened a school at the new mission of Taloney.[28] This station was situated sixty-two miles southeast of Brainerd, in Georgia, on the federal road that ran from Nashville to the Florida border.[29] Mr. D. S. Buterick from Brainerd started a mission and school at Creek Path, now Guntersville, Alabama, in April, 1830. This station was located about a hundred miles southwest of Brainerd. The Indians built a log house, 32 x 17 feet, to serve for both mission and school purposes. A Sunday-school was organized for the blacks, which contained fifteen members, and the Indian school began with twenty-seven students.[30] In June, Miss Catherine Brown, a former Indian student at Brainerd, became teacher of the girls at Creek Path.[31]

These new stations were not begun to the neglect of the parent mission. Its report to the Secretary of War, made October 1, 1830, revealed a state of prosperity. Among the numerous items of property listed and evaluated, the following were given:

> 13 horses, $765; 6 yoke of oxens, $300; 29 cows, $370; 24 calves, $96; 60 young neat cattle, $430; 37 sheep, $67; 350 hogs, 200 at Brainerd, $750; 70 acres of land cleared, $700.

The total value of all property was given at $11,813.[32]

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28. Walker, op. cit., 43.
29. Missionary Herald, XX, 2.
30. Brainerd Journal, in Walker, op. cit., 136-137.
31. Ibid., 138.
32. Ibid., 142-143.

At the close of 1820, the building program of the mission had been completed, with the exception of a grist-mill. The buildings were a boy's school house, a boy's cabin, a two-story mission house, a two-story girl's house, a girl's school house, a barn, a farmer's house, a carpenter's house, and a sawmill. There was also a blacksmith shop and suitable out-houses. These, together with a garden and a cemetery, completed the establishment of Brainerd mission.[33]

On January 10, 1821, Dr. Elizur Butler and Rev. William Potter arrived at Brainerd with their wives.[34] Dr. Butler was a physician and remained at Brainerd until 1824. Rev. Potter proceeded to Creek Path, where, on January 19, he assumed his duties as permanent missionary and teacher at that station.[35]

Only one other event out of the ordinary routine occured at the mission during 1821. That was Dr. Samuel Worcester's visit to Brainerd. Dr. Worcester was one of the founders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and had been one of the chief promoters of the Brainerd mission while secretary of that Board. On March 18 Rev. Hoyt, Anna Hoyt, his daughter, and Mr. John Vail, a teamster, were sent to Mayhew, Mississippi, with a wagon to meet Dr. Worcester, who had come from Boston to New Orleans by boat. Rev. Hoyt and party returned to Brainerd May 19,

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33. Ibid., 106.
34. Missionary Herald, XVIII, 1-5.
35. Walker, op. cit., 35,46.

and reported that Dr. Worcester was too ill to accompany them. On May 25, however, Dr. Worcester arrived at Brainerd, but in a very enfeebled condition. His health was gone, he grew weaker daily, and died on June 6, 1821. For several days thereafter, the mission stations were in grief and sadness at his demise.[36]

Late in the year of 1820, the Cherokee council "made a law to compel parents to keep their children at school, when once started, until they have finished their education, or to pay all expense for clothing, board or tuition." The council also gave the superintendents of each mission authority to take out of the schools such children as they thought proper, "and put them to such trades as are attached to their missions, and when such children learned a trade," they were to be furnished "with a set of tools at the expense of the Nation."[37] The good effects of this law became manifest the next year.

On the whole, 1821 was a prosperous year for each of the stations. The farm at Brainerd had not produced as well as had been hoped, owing to a drought; otherwise the mission was in a flourishing condition at the close of the year. Intemperance had greatly declined at Taloney, because of the mission's influence. The Creek Path station reported

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36. Brainerd Journal, in Walker, op. cit., 143-150.
37. Ibid., 144.

a thriving condition in all departments of its labors.[38] The Brainerd schools were filled to the limit of their capacities and many parents had to be denied admission for their children.[39]

For the next two years, conditions remained practically unchanged at the above stations, with the exception of the arrival of new missionaries and the members of their families at Brainerd. From November 24, 1821, to October 30, 1822, no less than fourteen such persons--seven men, five women, and a child--made their appearance at that mission. Their names were: John C. Elsworth, with his wife and sister; Nathan Parker, with his wife and one child; Erastus Dean and his wife; Isaac Proctor and his wife; Frederick Elsworth and his wife; Ainsworth Blunt, and Sylvester Ellis.[40] Four of the men were employed permanently at Brainerd: Mr. John C. Ellsworth was appointed superintendent of secular affairs; Nathan Parker was employed as miller and farmer; Erastus Dean became chief mechanic; and Ainsworth Blunt was expert farmer and mechanic.[41] The others were available for service elsewhere.

This augmentation of forces made it possible to comply with the many earnest requests of the Cherokees for

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38. "Report of the Prudential Committee," Missionary Herald, XVIII, 1-5.
39. Brainerd Journal, in Walker, op. cit., 187.
40. Missionary Herald, XIX, 45-46, 371-373.
41. Walker, op. cit., 49-52.

more schools.[42] From April, 1823 to January, 1824, four new missions and schools were opened. Hightower mission was founded by Mr. Isaac Proctor in April, 1823. It was situated in Georgia on a river named Etowee, but corrupted into Hightower, eighty miles south-southeast of Brainerd, and thirty-five miles west of south from Taloney.[43] Willetown station was established in May, 1823, by Rev. William Chamberlain. This mission was located about fifty miles southwest of Brainerd in Alabama near what is now Fort Payne. At Turnip Mountain, near the present Rome, Georgia, Rev. S. J. Mills labored more than a year endeavoring "to teach the people the way of salvation," and late in 1823, Mr. John C. Ellsworth formed a mission there. Early in 1824, a school was also begun and the name of Turnip Mountain was changed to Haweis. In 1824 William Holland founded Candy's Creek station. This was situated about twenty-five miles northeast of Brainerd in Tennessee, in what is now Bradley County.[44]

These new stations brought the number of Congregationalist missions and schools up to seven by the middle of 1824. Two were in Alabama, two in Tennessee, and three in Georgia. A glance at a map is sufficient to show that, by

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42. Missionary Herald, XIX, 45-46.
43. The name of Taloney mission was changed about this time to Carmel, and will be refered to as such in the future. Brainerd Journal, in Missionary Herald, XIX, 341.
44. Missionary Herald, XX, 2; XXI, 2; XIX, 341-43.

including the two Moravian stations, it would have been easily possible for one to have begun at Candy's Creek and to have ridden on horseback from one station to another in a day's time and thus to have made a circuit of the nine stations, sleeping at one of them each night. All these stations except two were in the Lower Cherokee country, and the Congregationalists established no other during the remaining years of the decade under consideration.

Prosperity continued in all the missions and schools. During the fourteen months next preceding August, 1824, forty-four Indians were received into the membership of the Carmel church. In the same period of time, sixteen members were added to the church at Hightower; and at the other stations, "there were a considerable number of hopeful prospects."[45]

At each of the four stations of Brainerd, Carmel, Hightower, and Willstown there was an organized church. In September, 1824, those churches were received into the Union Presbytery of East Tennessee. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, however, continued to support and direct the work; but thenceforward the missions were Presbyterian in reality. In October, 1825, the Presbytery of West Tennessee held its annual meeting at Creek Path Mission.[46]

At the close of 1826, the number of pupils at the

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45. "A Brief View of the Missions under the A. B. C. F. M." Missionary Herald, XXI, 261-262.
46. Missionary Herald, XXII, 2.

seven mission stations was about two hundred. The schools at Brainerd were never in a better state. At Carmel, the state of society was much improved and there was comparatively little intemperance in the vicinity. The influence of the Willstown station "had been felt in a great reformation of morals among the people who inhabited Wills Valley."[47] In 1829 the several Presbyterian stations contained 159 churches members,[48] and 174 students were in the schools. The decade closed with a prosperous condition existing in all the churches and schools.[49]

IV. The Baptists at the Valley Towns Missions, North Carolina.

By May, 1819, the unrest of the Cherokees, which had been caused by the treaty of 1818, had been quieted and the leaders of the tribe were looking forward with hopeful expectations. In that month, Rev. Humphrey Posey reported to the Baptist Board at Boston that he had just completed an extended tour throught the Cherokee nation and had had several conversations with assistant chief Charles Hicks about extending mission efforts among his people. Hicks wished every school to be an establishment and the children principally to board at

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47. "Survey of Missions under the A. B. C. F. M." Missionary Herald, XXIII, 8.
48. "Brief View of the Missions under the A. B. C. F. M." Missionary Herald, XXV, 10.
49. Elsworth, Thompson, and Dr. Butler to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Oct. 1829, in Missionary Herald, XXV, 318-320.

the place. They [the Indians] looked"to the religious societies for teachers, preachers, and farmers." Inasmuch as the Moravians and Congregationalists had such permanent establishments, Hicks desired that the next one should be made by the Baptist Board in that part of the nation called Valley Towns, North Carolina. Posey pledged himself for the Board that the Baptists would establish such an institution. He requested the Board to make good the pledge, and advised that permission should be obtained from the President of the United States for their undertaking. Posey further stated that he intended to spend the summer in traveling among the Cherokees and preaching to them. He intended to visit the Indian council in the fall and get the consent of that body for the establishment of the mission.[50] In November, he reported to the Board that he had attended a council of the Cherokees in the preceding month, that he preached twice to that body, and that the council unanimously granted him the privilege of establishing "a missionary seminary at Valley Towns." Again he reminded the Board of the necessity of getting the President's permission for the undertaking, and advised that he would need"a principal and one or more assistants as funds would allow." Posey concluded his report by stating that he could do nothing more until he had heard from the Board.[51]

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50. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Asheville, N. C., May 9, 1819, in Latter-Day Luminary, I, 452.
51. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Nov. 18, 1819, in Latter-Day Luminary, II, 28.

Upon the request of Mr. Posey, and upon the recommendation of the committee on the Valley Towns mission, the Board at Boston appointed "brother Chase and brother Bradley" as a committee to confer with Posey, and to assist in the purchase of equipment for the Cherokee mission. The Board instructed Mr. Posey "to originate and encourage such local schools in his vicinity as might contribute to the great object of Indian reform and salvation." He was further instructed to draw upon the treasury of the Board during 1820 for sums not exceeding "$500 every two months, including in the amount the monies that may be obtained to aid the mission from the United States Government." The Board also deemed it necessary to send out another teacher, "a preacher of the gospel." A committee of three was appointed to employ such a person.[52]

The Board secured the services of Mr. Thomas Dawson as assistant to Mr. Posey at Valley Towns. The Sarepta Missionary Society of Georgia also employed Rev. Duncan O'Bryant as teacher of a school to be founded among the Cherokees of upper Georgia, which was to be under the patronage of the Mission Board at Boston. With the aid of those two gentlemen, Mr. Posey got the two schools started in the winter of 1819. The Georgia school was situated at the Indian town of Tensawattee, on the upper waters of the Hightower River, about

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52. "Recommendations Adopted by the Board," in ibid., 387-388.

sixty miles southeast of Valley Towns. In January, 1820, it contained twenty-eight students. The Valley Towns school, at that time, contained thirty-seven students.[53]

The months from the summer of 1820 to the fall of 1821 constituted a period of expansion for these Baptist schools. On April 5, 1820, the government granted the sum of $500 to the Valley Towns school for building purposes, and another such grant of $250 was made on August 25 of the same year. The government also, on May 16, 1821, granted the Valley Towns school a semi-annual tuition allowance of $250.[54] By the aid of those funds eighty acres of land were secured at Valley Towns, on the north bank of the Hiwassee River and put under cultivation. Two log houses, one 40 x 22 feet, and the other 40 x 17 feet, were built. "Smoke houses, stables, and spring house" were also erected. At Tensawattee, a school house and a dwelling house were built.[55] By September, 1821, a sawmill had been completed at the Valley Towns mission, a grist-mill was under construction,[56] and bricks had been burned with which to build chimneys. At the school in Valley Towns forty Indian children were "receiving instruction both in elements of education and in arts

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53. American State Papers, VIII, 277.
54. Ibid., 272.
55. "Mr. Dawson Assists in the Capacity of Lancasterian Teaching," Latter-Day Luminary, II, 400.
56. Posey to the Corresponding Secretary, Valley Towns, N. C., Sept. 27, 1821, in ibid., 488.

of economy and civilized life...These were fed and clothed and taught." The school at Tensewattee was not a boarding school.[57]

Thursday, September 27, 1821, was a good day, both for the Baptists of Philadelphia and for the mission at Valley Towns. On the morning of that day between four and five hundred members of the Baptist churches of Philadelphia met in Centre Square of that city to bid a prosperous journey to "four wagon loads of missionaries" who were starting for the Cherokee mission. The missionaries were: Rev. Thomas Roberts and his wife, Elizabeth; Mr. Isaac Cleaver, blacksmith and farmer, and his wife, Rachel; Rev. Evan Jones, teacher, and his wife, Elizabeth; John Farrier, farmer and weaver; Mary Lewis, Ann Cleave, and sixteen children, ranging in ages from eleven to seventeen years--a total of twenty-five in the party. Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, Ann Cleave, and Mary Lewis were to be employed as teachers.[58]

With this increase of forces the mission at Valley Towns began a long list of new activities. Mr. Dawson resigned as principal of the school when the new missionaries arrived and left the mission.[59] He was succeeded by Mr. Jones. Early in 1822 Mr. Roberts succeeded Mr. Posey as superintendent of Cherokee missions. Many acres of land were cleared and fenced with home made rails. A freshet in the Hiwassee did

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57. Ibid.,; Latter-Day Luminary, II, 400.
58. Latter-Day Luminary, II, 488.
59. Posey to Corresponding Sec., Jan. 8, 1822, in ibid., III, 91.

considerable damage to the mills in the winter and they were repaired at a cost of two hundred dollars in the spring of 1822.[60] An interpreter, J. Tafford, a half-breed, was employed at $5 per month to aid Mr. Jones in his school work. He gave much time in trying to teach Jones the Cherokee language. These two spent much time in translating and writing portions of Scripture into the Indian language. They also wrote an Indian grammar and a dictionary. The Philadelphia Sunday School Spelling Book was translated into the Cherokee tongue. Mr. Roberts, in addition to overseeing the various activities of the mission, did a considerable amount of work in other Indian settlements. For example, a Sunday School Society was organized in January, 1822, with about forty members. Thirty Indians joined the Society and pledged an annual contribution to it of $30, or $1 each per year.[61] All in all, the spring of 1822 was a busy time for the missionaries at Valley Towns.

Late in January, 1822, Mr. Roberts wrote of the Valley Towns school:[62]

> The whole number of Cherokee scholars is 54; and though their skin is red,....I assure you their mental powers are white.

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60. "Report of the Committee to the Board," Apr. 24, 1822, in ibid., 168.
61. Roberts to O. B. Brown, Jan. 22, 1822; Roberts to the Corresponding Sec., Apr. 25, 1822; Roberts to the Corresponding Sec., Aug. 14, 1822, in ibid., 91, 213, 309.
62. Roberts to O. B. Brown, Jan. 22, 1822, in ibid., 91.

> Few white children can keep pace with them in learning and many of them can work well. They are trained not only to books...but also to the hoe, the mattock, the plough, the scythe, and the sickle.

In the following August he reported to the Board that the schools were still increasing in numbers and that the missions were in a thrifty condition. The Valley Towns mission had seventy acres of fine corn.[63] A new school was opened in June, 1822, at the Indian town of Nottle, some sixteen miles southeast of Valley Towns. There resided "about forty or fifty whites, reds, and half-breeds" there who could speak English. They built a house for both school and mission purposes, and offered to contribute meal and corn for the support of a teacher.[64] Mr. Roberts did not report the numbers of students in the three schools in August, but Mr. Jones wrote of the Valley Towns school: "Our school at present consists of 70 pupils; 48 boys, 22 girls; halfbreeds, quarterons and with a few full breeds."[65]

The Baptist Convention met in May 1823. The Committee on Cherokee Missions reported to the Convention that the mills at Valley Towns had been leased for $100 a year, "payable in foods and corn." The mission had about eighty acres of land "under a tolerable good fence." The land was "well adapted for Indian corn but too low for winter grain."

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63. Roberts to the Corresponding Sec., Aug. 14, 1822, in ibid., 309.
64. Ibid.
65. Jones to a Friend in Washington, Valley Towns, N. C., Aug. 17, 1822, in ibid., 310.

During the year the mission produced three thousand bushels of corn, "besides oats, peas and some rye." The report further stated, relative to the school, that the mission had:[66]

> 40 or 50 pupils at the Valley Towns, the most of whom can read the word of God with considerable fluency. Their conduct is generally good, both in school and out. They seem to have lost their native wildness; they are kind and effectionate to all the family, and to one another.

After hearing the complete report, the Convention adopted the following regulations to be enforced at the Valley Towns mission for the future: (1) boarding students were to be limited to fifty in number for the immediate future; (2) parents were to be informed that the children must comply with the rules of the mission; (3) the rules were to be read to every parent or guardian who brought pupils to the mission; (4) all parents or guardians must furnish the children with shoes and one blanket each, and when able to do so, they must furnish all the clothing for their children; (5) no child who spoke the English language should be admitted under ten years of age; nor should any child who did not speak the English language be admitted under six years of age; (6) each pupil should remain in school until he had attained a plain English education; (7) the pupils were to have two weeks vacation each quarter.[67]

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66. "A further Statement by Mr. Roberts, under date March 11, 1823." Latter-Day Luminary, IV, 185.
67. Latter-Day Luminary, V, 167-168.

All departments of the mission at Valley Towns continued in a prosperous manner for about another year. But in April, 1834, a radical change was made in the system of conducting the mission. Mr. Roberts and Mr. Farrier had both asked to be relieved from further service at the mission. The Board appointed a committee to confer with Roberts and Farrier and to bring in a report on the mission. The committee reported in April, 1834. The report showed that the school at Valley Towns contained fifty students, the maximum number allowed by the rules, and that many others were waiting to enter. It further showed that Mr. Roberts had been employed at $400 per year and Mr. Farrier at $12 per month. The Board owed Mr. Roberts $203.25, and Mr. Farrier $188. The Committee recommended that Mr. Roberts be employed as an agent of the Board to travel and represent the Board and raise funds for the mission. Mr. Farrier's request for release was to be granted. The Board accepted the report by adopting its recommendations. The Board also paid the arrears in wages due Mr. Roberts and Mr. Farrier.[68]

After Mr. Roberts and Mr. Farrier left the mission, Mr. Evan Jones was employed as superintendent, and Mr. Thomas Dawson was again employed as principal of the school at Valley Towns. To reduce operating expenses, the farm was leased, and only James Wafford, interpreter, Mrs. Evan Jones, teacher; Miss Elizabeth Jones, teacher; and Miss Mary Lewis, teacher,

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68. Ibid., 167.

were retained as assistants at the mission.[69]

In March, 1825, the school was still filled to its capacity of fifty children, and six students had completed their studies and had returned to their homes. At that time the mission owned forty-two cattle, two horses, and sixty hogs. During the preceding year, two gardens had been fenced with palings, two thousand fence rails had been split, and a number of apple and peach trees had been set. Also, a room with a stone chimney had been added to the buildings. Mr. Jones observed that a greater interest in spiritual matters had become manifest since the change in the system of the management of the mission.[70] He wrote:

> It has been the pleasure of the Lord to visit the mission with his heavenly grace. Several have been baptized, and many are manifesting a solemn concern for their eternal salvation.

From 1826 to the close of 1829 the policies and progress that has been described above continued at Valley Towns mission without interruption. The farm continued to be leased, the school was constantly filled to its limit of fifty students, and the mission church continued to receive a few additions each year.[71] For example in 1827 Mr. Jones wrote:

> I feel great pleasure in stating that the Lord has lately visited us with his gracious presence, and I trust several have

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69. Jones and Parson to the Corresponding Sec., Mar. 28, 1825, in ibid., VI, 147.
70. Ibid.
71. Jones to the Corresponding Sec., Feb. 16, 1827, in American Baptist Magazine, VII, 147.

> been thoroughly awakened to a sense of their wretched condition by nature. I have good reasons to believe that two or three have found the Lord to be a sin pardoning God. I expect if God permits, to bury one young man in baptism next Lord's day.

As time went on, Mr. Jones laid more stress upon the spiritual phase of the mission's work. In the summer of 1829 he reported that a spirit of revival had come to the Cherokees. This was true, as the history of the mission in after years proved. Of the school he reported in August, 1829: "We are frequently obliged with painful sensations, to reject applications for admission."[72]

As 1829 drew toward its close, Mr. Jones was frequently obliged to go into the Hiwassee River to immerse the new Cherokee converts. His graphic description of one of those baptisings, which occurred on the first Sunday afternoon in December, is worthy of mention. Mrs. Galetayee, a Cherokee mother, was the person baptized. A congregation of several hundred Indians and whites, mostly Indians, gathered on the river bank to witness the ordinance. In the congregation were two United States Commissioners who had come to pay the Cherokees for their reservation in North Carolina, which they had recently sold. One of those commissioners was Rev. Humphrey Posey. At the proper time he came forward and assisted Mr. Jones in the ordinance. Mr. Jones concluded

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72. Jones to the Corresponding Sec., Aug. 17, 1829, in American Baptist Magazine, XIX, 389.

his account of the baptising with the following remarks:[73]

> In the congregation, which amounted to several hundreds, were a number of professors of religion, of different denominations, from the white settlements. The sight of so many Cherokees (heretofore denominated savages) joining with zeal and devotion in the worship of a crucified Saviour, excited in them, sensations of wonder and joy. Some of them (the whites) told me, they had expected improvements, but nothing like this.

V. Methodist Circuits Among the Cherokees.

In order to give an intelligible account of Methodist mission efforts among the Cherokee, it is first necessary to tell something of Richard Neeley. Richard Neeley was born in North Carolina in 1802. While Richard was yet a child, his parents removed to Rutherford County, Tennessee. At the age of seventeen he was converted and united with the Methodist Church. In 1821 he was admitted into the Tennessee Conference and was assigned a circuit in the Huntsville District of North Alabama.[74] This pioneer preacher became the instrument of introducing Methodism among the Cherokees. His circuit lay along the north bank of the Tennessee River, and to the east of what is now Guntersville, Alabama. He crossed the river at Gunter's Landing and did some missionary work

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73. Jones to the Corresponding Sec., Dec. 11, 1829, in American Baptist Magazine, X, 53-54.
74. J. B. McFerrin. History of Methodism in Tennessee, III, 206.

in the neighborhood of Creek Path at the home of Richard Riley, a half-breed. He reported the success of his work to the next Conference, which met at Ebenezer, Greene County, Tennessee, October 16, 1822.[75] After hearing Neeley's report,[76] that body adopted the following resolutions:

> Whereas, it appears to us, from representations made, that there is a favorable opening for the establishment of a mission among the Indians of the Cherokee Nation, several of whom seem desirous that we should take them under our care and superintendence; therefore,
>
> 1. Resolved, That we take them under our care, and establish a mission among them.
>
> 2. That a missionary shall be appointed to reside in Mr. Riley's neighborhood, to preach to the Indians and instruct their children.
>
> 3. That a committee be appointed to raise subscriptions and solicit donations for the support of this mission; to make such application, in a prudent way, of the money raised as they may judge expedient, and make report of their proceedings, and of the state of the mission, at the next Tennessee Annual Conference.
>
> 4. That the Presiding Elders of Holston, French Broad, Huntsville, Nashville, and Forked Deer, Districts, for the ensuing year, be appointed a committee to act as above directed.

The Conference also appointed a committee of three--William McMahon, Thomas Stringfield, and A. J. Crawford--to confer with Mr. Riley on the subject of the mission to be established. Mr. Andrew J. Crawford was appointed the first

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75. Ibid., 207, 215.
76. Quoted in ibid., 207--208.

Cherokee missionary of the Conference.[77]

From the above resolutions, one might be led to think that it was the intention of Conference to establish a permanent mission and school at Creek Path, similar to the one already established there by the Congregationalists; but it appears from later evidence that the Methodists established no schools among the Cherokees, there or elsewhere. They seem to have confined their mission efforts to preaching at certain stations along fixed circuits. At any rate, Mr. Crawford served at Creek Path only one year, and no one succeeded him at that place.[78]

On November 26, 1823, the Conference met at Huntsville, Alabama.[79] For the ensuing year, Rev. Thomas L. Douglass was appointed "Conference Missionary and Superintendent of the Indian Missions." Richard Neeley was appointed missionary to the "Lower Cherokee Mission", and Nicholas D. Scales was appointed missionary to the "Upper Cherokee Mission"[80] At that Conference the Methodist began to look forward to the expansion of their work among the Indians. By the term "Cherokee Mission," it appears that Conference had in mind the Upper Cherokees as a mission field, among whom Mr. Scales was to labor; and the Lower Cherokees, among

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77. Ibid., 208.
78. Ibid., 208.
79. Ibid., 229.
80. Ibid., Appen., 525.

whom Mr. Neeley was to labor.

At the end of the year's work, Mr. Douglass reported to Conference the condition of the Cherokee missions.[81] Conference appointed Robert Paine, William McMahon, and Ellison Taylor as a committee to estimate the amount necessary to sustain each missionary the ensuing year. The committee reported: "The expenses necessary for a married man and his family, $350; and for each single man, $150. Contingent expenses, $100."[82]

From 1825 to 1827 Conference continued to expand its work among the Cherokees. Mr. Neeley and Mr. Scales returned to their work among the Upper and Lower Cherokees in 1825, but Mr. Isaac W. Sullivan was sent to the Middle Cherokees. In 1826 Ambrose F. Driskill was stationed at Gunters [later Guntersville], Alabama; Richard Neeley was appointed to Wills Valley Circuit; and Francis A. Owen was sent to Newton, Georgia. During 1827 Mr. Owen remained at Newton; George W. Morris was stationed at Gunters; James J. Trott, on the Wills Valley Circuit; and William P. Nichols, at Coosawattee.[83]

In the late fall of 1827 the Tennessee Conference met at the young town of Tuscumbia, Alabama. The report of the Cherokee missions was encouraging. Six hundred seventy-

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81 His report was not accessible to me and I know nothing of its contents.
82. Quoted in ibid., 270.
83. Ibid., appen., 525-526.

five Cherokees had become members of the Methodist Church.[84] Two young Cherokees, Joseph Blackbird and Edward Graves, "were placed under the charge of the Rev. William McMahon, by order of the Conference, to be taught a knowledge of the English language, with a view of laboring among the Indians as preachers and interpreters. They both, in after years, rendered valuable services."[85] Turtle Fields, another Cherokee, "over six feet in height," was admitted to Conference as a preacher on trial.[86]

In 1838 the following Methodist preachers labored among the Cherokees: in Wills Valley, Greenberry Garrett; at Coostanola, Turtle Fields, a native Cherokee; at New Echota, James J. Trott; at Ochgelogy, G. T. Henderson; at Creek Path, J. B. McFerrin; at Chattooga, Allen F. Scrugge; at Salakowa, D. C. McLeod. William McMahon was "Superintendent" over the Cherokee missions.[87] During this year twenty-seven Cherokees were added to the Methodist Church, making the total number of Cherokee members 702.[88]

The seventeenth session of the Tennessee Conference met at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, December 4, 1838.[89] The subject of missions occupied most of the attention of this Conference, and it was agreed to employ in the Cherokee nation,

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84. I do not know how many of that number were adults.
85. Ibid., 332.
86. Ibid., 328, 330.
87. Ibid., App., 587.
88. Ibid., 352.
89. Ibid., 340.

for 1829, eight preachers and three interpreters. Three of the preachers employed were married men and five were single. "Sixteen hundred dollars was the sum agreed for their support. Truly, in the days of heroic Methodism men lived economically."[90]

The following were the missionaries to the Cherokees in 1829, and the places where they labored: Wills Valley and Coostanola, John B. McFerrin; Coosawattee, Turtle Fields; Mt. Wesley and Asbury, D. C. McLeod; Chattooga, Greenberry Garrett; Salakowa, Nicholas D. Scales; Wesley's Grove, Allen F. Scruggs; Conesauga, Thomas L. Elliott; James J. Trott, general missionary to travel through the Cherokee nation. William McMahon was superintendent of the mission work.[91] Two of the three interpreters employed for that year were Joseph Blackbird and Edward Graves,[92] the two Cherokee youths already mentioned.

The year 1829 was a prosperous one for the Methodist Cherokee missionaries. It resulted in a net increase of thirty-four Indian members of the Church,[93] making the total Cherokee membership 776. The Conference which met at Huntsville, Alabama, November 16, 1829, faced the ensuing year with enlarged plans for the Indian missions. The Cherokee Mission District was organized as the sixth District of the Tennessee Conference. A greater number of missionaries were employed and new circuits were planned.[94] The prospects were good for

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90. Ibid., 350.
91. Ibid., App., 527.
92. Ibid., 351
93. Ibid., 358.
94. Ibid., 358.

a great year's work. But alas, as we shall see later, trouble arose for the missionaries and all did not go well in 1830.

VI. The Cherokees Themselves.

By 1830 the Cherokees were rapidly advancing in civilization. In that year the "Legislative Council" divided the Cherokee nation into eight judicial districts, laid a tax on the people to build a court house in each of those districts, and appointed four circuit judges. The Cherokees were "rapidly adopting the laws and manners of the whites. They" appeared "to advance in civilization just in proportion to their knowledge of the Gospel."[95] The names of the eight districts were Coosawatee, Etowee, Hickory Log, Amohee, Chickamauga, Chattooga, Aquohee, and Tawquohee. The judges were George Sanders, John Martin, Thomas Sanders, and James Davis. Path-Killer was the head chief or "King;" Charles R. Hicks, member of the Moravian Church, was assistant chief and treasurer; and John Ross was president of the national committee, or cabinet.[96] In 1822 "the Cherokee's income from the United States was seventy-two hundred dollars. Their national taxes, which were referred to as 'small,' were also listed as 'not collected.'[97] The poll tax was fifty cents a family."

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95. Brainerd Journal, quoted in Missionary Herald, XVII, 73.
96. Brainerd Journal, quoted in Walker, op. cit., 114-115.
97. R. S. Walker., Torchlights to the Cherokees, 115-116.

Under the Cherokee laws, each district was patrolled by a special constabulary known as the Light Horse, organized somewhat on the order of the later Texas Rangers. When an offense was committed, complaint was made to the Captain of the Light Horse. The culprit was sought and, if found, he was arrested and brought to trial.[98]

The legislative council met annually. In conjunction with the national Committee, it enacted laws covering a broad range of subjects.[99] The council authorized the taking of a census of the nation in 1824. The census returns showed many interesting facts. For example, the population was given as 14,972.[100] Included in the population figures were 1038 negro slaves, 479 of whom were males and 559 of whom were females. In 1824 one hundred and forty-four white men lived in the nation with Cherokee wives, and sixty-three Cherokee men lived with white wives.[101]

Mention has been made elsewhere of the missionaries at Springplace, 1818, sending "Buck" and another Indian youth to a school at Cornwall, Connecticut, for higher training. In 1822, having completed his course in that school he returned to his people under the name of Elias Boudinot.[102] In 1826 he issued a printed address upon the conditions of the Cherokees,

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98. See Laws of the Cherokee Nation and c., 1-75.
99. Ibid., 8-15.
100. The census was only for the Cherokees east of the Mississippi River. At that time several thousands of them had moved to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi.
101. From "Statistical Tables," attached to ibid.
102. Walker, op. cit., 156.

from which the following extracts are taken:[103]

> At this time (1826) there are (in the Cherokee nation) 22,000 cattle; 7,600 horses; 46,000 swine; 2,500 sheep; 762 looms; 2,488 spinning wheels; 172 wagons; 2,943 ploughs; 10 saw-mills; 31 grist-mills; 62 black-smith shops; 8 cotton machines; 18 schools; 18 ferries; and a number of public roads. In one district there were, last winter, upwards of 1,000 volumes of good books; and 11 different periodical papers, both religious and political, were taken and read.
>
> In many places, the word of God is regularly preached and explained, both by the missionaries and natives; and there are numbers who have publicly professed their belief and interest in the merits of the great Saviour of the world. It is worthy of remark, that in no ignorant country have the missionaries experienced less trouble and difficulty in spreading a knowledge of the Bible, than in this. Here, they have been welcomed and encouraged by the proper authorities of the nation; their persons have been protected, and in very few instances, have some individual vagabonds threatened violence to them.
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> The Cherokees have had no established religion of their own, and perhaps to this circumstance we may attribute in part, the facilities with which the missionaries have pursued their ends. They (the Cherokees) cannot be called idolators; for they never worshipped images. They believed in a Supreme Being, the Creator of all, the God of the white, of the red, and the black man. They also believed in the existence of an evil spirit, who resided, as they thought, in the setting sun, the future place of all who in their life time had done iniquitously. Their prayers were addressed along to the

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103. Printed in Missionary Herald, XXIII, 116-117.

> Supreme Being, and if written, would fill a large volume, and display much sincerity, beauty, and sublimity. When the ancient customs of the Cherokees were in their full force, no warrior thought himself secure unless he addressed his guardian angel; no hunter could hope for success, unless before the rising sun, he had asked the assistance of his god, and on his return at eve, he had offered his sacrifice to him.

In 1821 a mixed-blood Cherokee, commonly called Sequoya, invented a Cherokee alphabet of eighty-six characters. He at once submitted his invention to the leading men of his nation, "and in little over a year, thousands of hitherto illiterate Cherokees were able to read and write their own language, teaching each other in cabins or by the roadside." Correspondence between Cherokees of the East and Cherokees west of the Mississippi was soon carried on by means of letters written in the new characters. In 1825 David Brown, a half-breed preacher, completed a translation of the New Testament in the Cherokee language, and this was handed about through the nation in manuscript form.[104]

Sequoya's invention gave such an impetuosity to civilizing influences among the Cherokees as seldom has been equaled. In 1827 the Cherokee council resolved to establish a national newspaper. Rev. Samuel A. Worcester of the Brainerd mission was employed to cut fonts of Cherokee and English type and to arrange to have the type molded. An improved

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104. Schwarze, op. cit., 148.

printing press was purchased in Boston, and was set up at New Echota, the Capital of the nation. Elias Boudinot was employed as editor, and the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix,[105] a weekly paper, appeared February 21, 1828. Dr. Worcester soon moved from Brainerd to New Echota, and was kept busy in the work of translating and in the arrangement of new copy. By 1833 the press had printed 14,650 copies of religious books, in addition to the other printing done at the New Echota office.[106]

In 1827 two other important events occurred among the Cherokees. The first of these was the death of Charles R. Hicks, head chief, early in the year. Of his death, Evan Jones, Baptist missionary, wrote:[107]

> I am sorry to have to say the venerable Cherokee chief, Charles Hicks, one of the best friends of missionaries, is dead. He was a steady, enlightened and consecrated Christian, a true patriot, and has long been a nursing father to his benighted people....He is succeeded by John Ross, Esq., a man of intelligence and energy.

The second important event of the year was the framing of a constitution for the Cherokee nation on July 4,[108] which was adopted on July 26, 1827.[109] It was modeled somewhat on the form of the constitution of the United States, and its

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105. Ibid., 149.
106. Walker, op. cit., 236-237.
107. Jones to the Corresponding Sec., Feb. 16, 1827, in American Baptist Magazine, VII, 147.
108. Ibid.
109. Garrett and Goodpasture. History of Tennessee, 136.

adoption was another long step forward toward Cherokee civilization.

A letter written by Dr. Samuel A. Worcester in the spring of 1830 vividly describes the domestic life of the Cherokees at the close of the decade under consideration.[110] The following extracts are illuminating:

> The arts of spinning and weaving, the Cherokee women, generally practice. Most of the garments are of their own spinning and weaving from cotton, the product of their own fields; though considerable Northern domestic and much calico is worn, nor is silk uncommon. Numbers of men wear imported cloths, also broadcloths, and many wear mixed cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives, but the greater part are clothed principally in cotton.
>
> Except the arts of spinning and weaving, but little progress has been made in manufactures. A few Cherokees, however, are mechanics. Agriculture is the principal employment and support of the people. It is the dependence of almost every family. As to the wandering part of the people who live by the chase, if they are to be found in the nation, I certainly have not found them, not even heard of them, except from the floor of Congress, and other distant sources of information. I do not know of a single family who depend, in any considerable degree, on game for a support.....The ground is uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not, as formerly by the hoe only.
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> The houses of the Cherokees are of all sorts, from the elegant painted or brick mansion, down to a very mean log cabin. If we speak, however, of the mass of the people, they live in comfortable log

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110. Worcester to William S. Coody, Secretary of the Cherokee Delegation to Washington, New Echota, Mar. 15, 1830, in Walker, op. cit., 250-255.

> houses, generally one story high, but frequently two; sometimes of hewn logs, and sometimes unhewn; commonly with a wooden chimney and a floor of puncheons, or what the New England man would call slabs. Their houses are not generally well furnished; many have scarcely any furniture, though a few are furnished even elegantly, and many decently. Improvement in the furniture of their houses appears to follow after improvement in dress, but at present is making rapid progress.

What a different picture of the Cherokees is the above from the one given of them in 1799 by Steiner, as related in the first chapter of this work! In the light of the accomplishments at the various mission stations, and in view of the progress made by the Cherokees in government, in language, and in domestic life, it would hardly be an over-statement to say that the Cherokees east of the Mississippi were a civilized people at the close of 1829. One can not say definitely just how much was contributed to the advancement of the Cherokees in civilization by the work of the missions, but it is reasonable to state that the missions exerted considerable influence in that direction.

Chapter IV

A PERIOD OF MIXED SUCCESS AND FAILURE, 1830--1838

The period from 1830 to 1838, on the whole, was one of confusion and retrogression for the Cherokees, and a time of uncertainty and trouble for the missionaries among them. The Indians were outlawed, some of the missions were closed, while several of the missionaries either fled or were arrested and imprisoned. These conditions were brought about, neither by the Cherokees nor the missionaries, but by outside interference on the part of the state of Georgia and by a changed Indian policy of the United States government.

I. A Political Upheaval.

The difficulties of the Cherokees and the missionaries were started by Georgia, within the boundary of which state was located the bulk of the Cherokee nation and the greater number of the missions, as we have seen. In 1802 Georgia ceded to the United States her lands west of her present boundary, receiving in return, among other considerations, the promise that the national government would extinguish the Indian titles to land in Georgia "as early as the same can be peacealy obtained on reasonable terms." By several treaties "all but 9,000,000 acres of

the Indian lands were purchased before 1825 and opened to settlement." In that year, however, the Cherokee general council enacted a law making it a death penalty to sell any more land. Much of the land occupied by the Indians was very fertile. Georgia was being settled rapidly and needed the land for the expansion of her settlements. When the Cherokees adopted their constitution in 1827, "Georgia naturally thought it intolerable that there should be a civil power within her borders which defied her authority, and she called upon the federal government to execute the agreement of 1802."[1]

Upon the failure of President J. Q. Adams to do any thing decisive about removing the Cherokees, the legislature of Georgia enacted a law, on December 20, 1828, to extend her jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the Cherokees within her borders. That law was superseded, on December 19, 1829, by a stronger one, which was entitled:[2]

> An Act to add the territory lying within the chartered limits of Georgia, now in the occupancy of the Cherokee Indians, to the counties of Carrol, De Kalb, Gwinnett, Hall, and Habersham, and to extend the laws of this state over the same, and to annul all laws and ordinances made by the Cherokee nation of Indians, and to provide for the compensation of officers serving legal processes in said territory, and to regulate the testimony of Indians....

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1. Bassett, op. cit., 400.
2. The Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia, 5 Peters, 5.

By that law, and by three other acts of the legislature in December 1830, the land of the Cherokees was surveyed and handed over to the whites by lottery, each head of an Indian family being allowed only one hundred and sixty acres. Indians were forbidden to give testimony in a case in which a white person was a party. All future contracts made with Indians were declared null. Members of the Cherokee council were forbidden to assemble under pain of a four year sentence in the penitentiary. The same penalty was prescribed for all Cherokee officers who attempted to fulfill their official functions. White persons living in the Cherokee nation were required to take an oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia and procure a written permit to reside among the Indians from the governor or be imprisoned for a term of four years. These laws were to go into effect on February 1, and March 15, 1831.[3]

It is difficult to describe the bewilderment, consternation, and unrest produced in the Cherokee nation by these laws. It appears that the missionaries were about the only persons in immediate contact with the Indians who sympathized with them in their predicament. In 1830 the Methodist missionaries passed a set of resolutions on the matter, so strongly pro-Cherokee that their Conference in session at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 3, 1830, felt itself obliged to pass other resolutions mildly rebuking

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3. Ibid., 5-8.

the missionaries. Both sets of resolutions were published in the Indian newspaper, The Cherokee Phoenix.[4] At a meeting held at New Echota, the Cherokee capital, December 29, 1830, twelve other missionaries, including nine representatives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, two representatives of the Moravian Church, and Evan Jones for the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, "after deliberate consideration," issued a set of eight resolutions and a lengthy statement on the Indian question. The fourth, seventh, and eighth resolutions were as follows, respectively:[5]

> Resolved, That while we distinctly aver that it is not any influence of ours, which has brought the Cherokees to the resolution not to exchange their place of residence, yet it is impossible for us not to feel a lively interest in a subject of such vital importance to their welfare; and that we can perceive no consideration, either moral or political, to restrain us from a free and public expression of our opinion.....
>
> Resolved, As our unanimous opinion, that the establishment of the jurisdiction of Georgia, and other states, over the Cherokees people, against their will, would be an immense and irreparable injury.
>
> Whereas we have frequently seen, in the public prints, representations of the state of this people, which we know to be widely at variance with the truth, and which are highly injurious in their tendency, Resolved, That we regard it as no more than an act of justice to the Cherokee nation, that we publish the following statement, and subjoin our names, in testimony of its correctness.

It is very probable that the attitude of the mis-

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4. McFerrin, op. cit., 371-373.
5. Missionary Herald, XXVIII, 79-84.

ionaries, as expressed in the above sets of resolutions and statement, influenced the legislature of Georgia, which was in session at the time, to enact the law requiring white males residing in the Cherokee nation to take an oath of allegiance to Georgia and to procure a permit from her governor to reside in the Cherokee nation. At least, several missionaries who refused to comply with that law were arrested and two of them were sent to the penitentiary, as will be shown later.

To protect themselves from the Georgia laws, the Cherokees and the missionaries took the matter to the courts. The Indians pleaded that they were protected by numerous treaties with the United States and asked for an injunction restraining Georgia from extending her jurisdiction over them. The missionaries pleaded that they were citizens of other states residing within the Cherokee nation by written permission of the President of the United States. Two important decisions of the federal supreme court were the result. In the first, the Cherokee nation vs. Georgia, 1831, it was held that an Indian tribe, though not an independent nation, was nevertheless, under the protection of the United States. In the second, Worcester vs. Georgia, 1832, it was held by the court, Chief Justice Marshall giving the decision, that the attempt of Georgia to extend her jurisdiction over the territory of the Cherokee nation was unconstitutional and that the missionaries should be released.[6]

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6. 5. Peters, 1-20; 6 Peters, 515-526.

Regardless of these decisions, however, and in defiance of the supreme court, and in violation of the constitution and treaties of the United States, the authorities of Georgia continued carrying out her designs on the territory of the Cherokee nation.

Instead of defending the constitution and enforcing "the supreme law of the land" in this matter by sustaining the decisions of the supreme court the chief Executive of the United States, Andrew Jackson, began a campaign of propaganda, attempting to pursuade the Cherokees to agree to remove west of the Mississippi. United States commissioners were sent among the Cherokees on that business at various times. Finally, on February 10, 1834, a small minority of their leaders were ready to sign a treaty of removal. A majority of the leading Indians under chief John Ross rejected the treaty and it came to nothing.[7]

But at last, in a meeting held with the Cherokees at New Echota, Georgia, December 29, 1835, the commissioners for the United States, General William Carrol and Rev. John F. Shermerhorn, succeeded in getting the leaders of both parties of the Indians into agreement. A treaty was then made, by which the Cherokees ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi. The United States obligated hereself to pay them $5,000,000 for their improvements and to grant them fifteen million acres of land in the Indian Territory, which

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7. Carrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., 136.

should never be included in any state or territorial government. The government further agreed to defray all expenses of removal and to furnish the Indians with one year's subsistence in their new home. The Cherokees agreed to remove within two years after the ratification of the treaty.[8] The treaty was ratified by the Senate on May 23, 1836, and the Cherokees were removed in the summer and fall of 1838.

II. The Moravians Close their Missions.

In January, 1831, the missionaries among the Cherokees in Georgia were very much agitated when a copy of the Georgia Journal was sent them, in which appeared the new laws enacted by the legislature. Section seven of the last law read:

> And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all white persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee Nation, on the first day of March next, or at any time thereafter, without a license or permit from his Excelency, the Governor, or from such agent as his Excelency, the Governor shall authorize to grant such permit or license, and who shall not have taken the oath hereinafter required, shall be guilty of an high misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by confinement in the penetentiary at hard labor for a term not less than four years.

The oath was: "I N. N., do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the state of Georgia, and uprightly

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8. The Statutes at Large of the United States, VIII, 478.

demean myself as a citizen thereof, so help me God."[9]

The Moravian missionaries at once held a mission conference to determine their future line of action. They had been invited by Captain David McNair, a friend who resided on a farm in the Cherokee country of Tennessee, eighteen miles from Springplace, to come and live with him. The missionaries accepted the invitation after they had unanimously agreed that they could not take the oath of allegiance to Georgia. They considered that to take the oath would be to turn traitors to the cause of the Cherokees. So it was decided to let Henry C. Clauder and Nathanael Byhan go to McNair's at once. Inasmuch as Gottlieb Byhan was postmaster at Springplace, it was thought that the Georgia law would not apply to him. He was to remain at his post. The law did not included women and minors, so Mrs. Byhan and Widow Gambold were to remain a few days at Oochgelogy and pack the movable equipment of the mission against the day of departure. These decisions were sent to the Helpers Conference at Salem for approval and advice. In due time news arrived from the Conference approving the action taken by the missionaries, advising the elder Byhan to send in his resignation as postmaster, and instructing all the missionaries to move to McNair's as soon as Byhan was relieved of his office.[10]

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9. Quoted in Schwarze, op. cit., 194.
10. Schwarze, op. cit., 194-195.

The spring and summer of 1831 were a time of uncertainty and anxiety for the Moravian missionaries. On March 4 a detachment of the Georgia guard entered the Cherokee nation and arrested several of the missionaries of other denominations. They were tried before Judge Clayton of the superior court of Gwinnett County. Judge Clayton set the missionaries at liberty on the ground that as missionaries the United States was interested in their work and that in a certain sense they might be considered in the service of the federal government. When news of that decision reached N. Byhan and Clauder at CaptainMcNair's, they joyfully returned to their posts at the missions--Byhan to Springplace school, and Clauder to the Oochgelogy school. In the meantime, the Salem Conference had written to Governor George R. Gilmer, of Georgia, asking protection for Gottlieb Byhan until the Postmaster General could accept his resignation from the Springplace Post Office. Governor Gilmer replied immediately that he had ordered the officers not to molest the Moravian missionaries.

The hopes of the missionaries, newly founded upon the court decision and the governor's reply, however, were short-lived. For, on May 30, news came that Judge Clayton's decision had been declared unconstitutional and all the other missionaries had again been arrested. On May 31, while busily engaged in teaching at the Oochgelogy school, Clauder was arrested by the state guard and taken to W. A. Hicks' house

nearby for questioning. "Clauder stated that the instructions received from his Society were to the effect, he should remove from the Cherokee Country at once, if he could not pursue his missionary labors peaceably." Upon this frank statement he was released and returned to his school at once. The next day Clauder received a letter signed, "C. H. Nelson, Sub-Com., Ga. Ga.," which instructed him to pursue his work in peace until further notified. All went well again at the Moravian missions for a time. Nelson, however, after all was only a "Sub-Com." and had to obey orders from superiors. Accordingly, on July 8, Clauder received a note from him stating that any protection accorded by his former letter was withdrawn. That, in effect, was an order to leave the Cherokees.[11]

On July 17, after a sermon and a communion service, the Clauders, with their little child and Mrs. Anna Maria Gambold, left Oochgelogy. They went first to Springplace, from thence to McNair's, and journeyed on to Salem in August, 1831. They left behind at Oochgelogy a church of thirty-five members, which continued its services without a missionary.[12] The Byhans continued at Springplace after the departure of the Clauders, and the close of 1831 found seventy-one members on the roll at that place.[13]

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11. Ibid., 195-197.
12. Ibid., 198.
13. Ibid., 199.

The year, 1832, was the last year for the Moravians at Springplace. Early in that year Gottlieb Byhan asked the Salem Conference to relieve him of his position as missionary to the Cherokees. The Salem authorities, through the aid of a congressional representative, secured the appointment of Clauder as postmaster at Springplace. On April 2, he, his wife, and Miss Dorothea Ruede, his sister-in-law, started from Salem on their journey of seventeen days to Springplace. "On the 23rd the wagon started on its return journey to Salem with the Byhan family." Miss Ruede took charge of the school and conducted it successfully. Congress granted the school $850 for that year, and the work went forward with something like its former vigor. In the meanwhile, Clauder visited the Cherokee church at Oochgelogy one Sunday each month and preached for the Indians. On the whole, it was a prosperous year for the Moravian mission. Clauder wrote of its close: "The year passed away in peace from without and the enjoyment of the smiles of our Divine Lord within." One hundred and thirty persons were in connection with the mission at that time.[14]

On the first day of 1833, "the Cherokee lands having been previously distributed by lottery," the claimants of Springplace presented themselves at the mission. Twenty people in five wagons and carts appeared that afternoon and

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14. Ibid., 199-201.

demanded full possession of all the mission property. At first, Clauder refused to comply with their demand, quoting to them the law as he understood it. Toward night the claimants became more insistent in their demands and "finally made a forcible seizure of the station. They unloaded their wagons and occupied the school-house, the scholars' house, the workshop and one half of the dwelling, permitted Clauder, for the present, to retain the other half for his family and Sister Buede."[15] The days of the mission were over and Clauder was obliged to leave.[16] Of his going, he wrote:

> After enduring untold suspense and vexation, I resolved to vacate the place where I could no longer pursue my calling and, with the assistance of Brother Adam Butner, of Salem, who came as an angel from Heaven, unexpectedly, to visit us in our great tribulation, we removed to Connesauga, within the limits of the State of Tennessee, where our well known friend, Captain David McNair, permitted us to occupy a farm belonging to his son and which was then vacant.

The officers of the Society at Salem appealed to their Congressman relative to the mission property that they had been obliged to relinguish in Georgia and were advised to appraise it and send an estimate of the value with a petition to Congress, through the medium of the Secretary of War. This was done. The appraisement of the stations at Springplace and Oochgelogy gave a total evaluation of $7554.50. "This sum was allowed the Society by Congress,

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15. Ibid., 201.
16. Quoted in ibid., 202.

through the efforts of Mr. John Williams, Commissioner of the Federal Government." After his commission was deducted, the Society received a net sum of $6441.13, which was held as a sacred trust fund with which to begin a mission among the Cherokees when they should move beyond the Mississippi.[17]

Though the Moravians had lost their mission stations, their work did not cease. The situation at the McNair place was suitable to the purpose of the missionaries. A small house on the farm was converted into a school house and Miss Puede at once opened another school for the Cherokees which were in the neighborhood. The Indians proposed to build a meeting house for Clauder; but on account of the disturbed conditions and the uncertainty of the affairs of the Cherokee nation, he thought it not wise to go to any expense in attempting another permanent station. For the next three years his work was of an itinerant nature. He went from place to place among the Cherokees, preaching in their homes. His journeys sometimes took him to Oochgelogy, where the church remained faithful and always welcomed him warmly.[18]

In 1836, when the removal of the Cherokees was made certain by the treaty already referred to, Captain McNair was obliged to request Clauder to vacate the farm he had been using gratis for three years. McNair's son had recently

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17. Ibid., 202.
18. Ibid., 204-205.

married and wished to locate on the farm. Seeing that it was useless to attempt another location among the Cherokees, Clauder prepared to return to Salem. After selling their "cattle and grain" and storing their goods with McNiir, the missionaries held a farewell service at the home of George Hicks on August 28, 1836. They left for Salem on September 12, and arrived safely at their destination seventeen days later.[19]

Early in 1837 George Hicks wrote to Salem that he would receive in his house in Bradley County, Tennessee, any missionary whom the Moravians would send to visit the Cherokee "flock in their distress and before their removal." Accordingly, Clauder, with his family safely in Salem, again left that place March 1, for a visit to the Cherokees. Conference had instructed him to do the work of an itinerant preacher and pastor, and to employ George Hicks as an interpreter. Throughout that spring, Clauder visited among the Cherokees preaching in their homes. When warmer weather came, the Cherokees erected "shades" at various places, that is, arbors covered with boughs, with logs for seats and with a platform for the speaker. On July 3, Miles Vogler, a young man, arrived from Salem as an assistant to Clauder. They built themselves a small cabin near Hicks' home, and Vogler opened a small school for the Indian

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19. Ibid., 207.

children in the community. Clauder continued his itinerant services until September 8, when he left for a five weeks visit with his family in Salem. About this time Clauder wrote of the conditions of the Cherokees: "Our entire Indian congregation was now, in consequence of national affairs, in a dispersed condition. Those formerly residing within the limits of Georgia had shared our experience of 1833, by a violent removal, and were sojourning, in poverty and suffering, within the Tennessee limits."[20]

After his visit with his family, Clauder returned to his work in Bradley County, Tennessee, in October. He found about twenty members of his congregation among a large company of Indians who had enrolled for migration and were then encamped about two miles from the Hiwassee agency. The government had a large body of soldiers on duty, expecting trouble with the majority party of the Indians under John Ross, and aiding those Indians who would enroll. Clauder learned that the "Ross party" was circulating rumors that he was favorable to the "Ridge party" and the removal treaty. They cited as evidence against him the fact that he had helped to appraise the mission property and that he had been selected as missionary for the new Territory by the "Treaty party." Faced with these conditions, Clauder thought it best for the cause of a future mission that he resign his

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20. Quoted in ibid. 211.

work among the Cherokees altogether, leaving Vogler in the field. On December 19 he started for Salem, and by the end of 1837 he was at home, having given nine years of his life in service to the Cherokees.[21]

In the fall of 1837, Rev. D. S. Buttrick, Presbyterian missionary at Brainerd, invited Vogler to take charge of the school there as they had lost most of their missionaries. D. S. Taucheechy, an Indian, was to be his assistant. After consulting the Board at Salem, Vogler accepted the invitation and spent the winter at Brainerd.[22]

In April, 1838, Vogler was recalled to Salem for consultation. The Cherokees were on the verge of being removed, nolens volens, to the west of the Mississippi and the Society wished to make arrangements for transplanting the mission among them. The Salem Conference chose Vogler, Herman Fuede, aged twenty years, and Rev. John Renatus, a former missionary at Springplace, to return to the Cherokees in Tennessee, and then to go on to the West and establish a new mission.

On May 4, 1838, the three missionaries left Salem in a good wagon drawn by a good team, bound on a long journey. They staid in Tennessee until September 17, when they resumed their journey alone. They passed through Nashville,

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21. Ibid., 213-214.
22. Ibid., 213.

Tennessee, Hopkinsville, Kentucky, Salem, Livingston County, Kentucky, and crossed the Ohio River into Illinois. They crossed southern Illinois and arrived at the Mississippi River in Union County. After passing through the state of Missouri, they entered Arkansas, going through Fayetteville, Washington County, and from there they went on to the border of Arkansas, leaving the States and entering Indian Territory on October 27, 1838.[23] With that journey the work of the Moravian missions among the Cherokees east of the Mississippi came to a close.

III. The Presbyterian Missions.

In that part of the Cherokee nation claimed by Georgia, there were, in 1831, four Presbyterian mission stations under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions--Carmel, Hightower, Haweis, and New Echota. At those stations were three ordained missionaries and two assistant missionaries, all of whom had families. At each station also was a church and a school. Upon receiving a copy of the newspaper, in January, 1831, containing the new Georgia laws against the Cherokees, the Presbyterian missionaries decided to disregard the laws and to rely upon the United States Supreme Court for protection. They had sufficient reason to believe that section seven of the law was enacted with the specific purpose

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23. Ibid., 215--220.

of driving the missionaries from the Cherokee nation, and they did not propose to leave.[24]

The first blow fell upon the missionaries on March 12, 1831, when Colonel Nelson of the Georgia guard, with twenty-five armed men arrived at Carmel and arrested Mr. Proctor, the teacher of the school. After ascertaining that Rev. Butrick was absent on a preaching tour, the guard proceeded the next morning with Proctor to New Echota. There Mr. S. A. Worcester, missionary of the Board, Mr. Wheeler, printer of the Cherokee Phoenix, and a Mr. Gann were arrested. The party then went to Hightower and arrested Mr. Thompson, missionary at that station, and another man by the same name, who resided nearby. The six prisoners were then taken to headquarters at Fort Gilmer. After remaining at that place one day the prisoners were taken about thirty miles to Lawrenceville, where the court of Gwinnett County was then in session. Mr. Thompson, Mr. Worcester, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Gann procured as their counsel, Messrs. Harris and Underwood. A writ of habeas corpus was immediately obtained and the case was argued before Judge Clayton. The counsel contended that the law under which the arrests had been made was unconstitutional. But the judge set that defense aside. He then declared Mr. Worcester an agent of

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24. "Arrest of the Missionaries of the Board in the Cherokee Nation," Christian Herald, XXVII, 165--166.

the United States, by virtue of his being a postmaster. He next declared all the missionaries of the Board to be in some sense agents of the government, because the government had made appropriations for their work. The missionaries Worcester, Thompson, and Proctor, therefore were released at once and returned to their posts. The other prisoners were bound over to the next term of court.[25]

The ruling of Judge Clayton practically nullified the new Georgia law, as far as the missionaries were concerned. Governor Gilmer, therefore, made a private investigation of the matter. He wrote to the Secretary of War to ascertain if the government considered the missionaries as its agents. Upon the basis of the Secretary's reply, which merely stated the facts, Governor Gilmer concluded that the missionaries were not agents of the government. Thereupon he wrote Messrs. Proctor, Butler, Thompson, and Worcester a personal letter informing them of the evidence that he had procured, and ordering them to leave the state. He threatened them with another arrest if they remained within the limits of Georgia. He also informed Dr. Worcester that he had been removed from the office of postmaster at New Echota.

When threatened with a second arrest, missionaries

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25. Ibid.
26. Walker, op. cit. 260-261.

Butrick and Thompson of Hightower, and Proctor of Carmel, consulted the Prudential Committee about the advisability of removing their families out of the Cherokee country over which Georgia claimed jurisdiction. The Committee advised them to act according to their convictions of duty.[27] Accordingly, they removed their families to Brainerd early in June, 1831. Mr. Proctor started a new mission at Amohee, not far from Candy's Creek, in Tennessee. Mr. Thompson, on account of his wife's health, soon left the Cherokee country for the North. Mr. Butrick continued to labor among the Cherokees at various places in Tennessee.[28]

Dr. S. A. Worcester, at New Echota, and Dr. Elizur Butler, at Haweis, continued their work until they were again arrested by the guard on July 8 and July 9, respectively. Dr. Worcester was arrested by Lieutenant Brooke and taken some ten miles to where Colonel Nelson was holding as prisoners a Methodist preacher, by the name of Trott, and an Indian, by the name of Proctor. Proctor was in chains when Worcester arrived, and had been for three days and nights. On July9 the four were marched about twenty-two miles. They had not gone more than three miles of their march until they were overtaken by Rev. McLeod and Rev. Wells, two Methodist preachers who were missionaries to the Cherokees in Tennessee.

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27. Missionary Herald, XXIX, 22.
28. Walker, op. cit., 261.

Those gentlemen were following their brother missionary, Trott, to see what would be done with him. Mr. McLeod resented the rough treatment being accorded to the prisoners. When he so expressed himself to Colonel Nelson, he too was placed under arrest and was marched along with the other prisoners. While encamped that night, the party was joined by another detachment of the guard, with Dr. Butler as their prisoner. Some idea of the treatment which the prisoners received on their journey to Fort Gilmer may be gleaned from the following extract:[29]

> Sometime after we lay down, a small detachment arrived with Dr. Butler. He had been arrested at Hawes on the preceeding day. After crossing a river three or four miles from home, a chain was fastened by a padlock around his neck, and the other end to the neck of a horse,, by the side of which he walked. Night soon came on. The horse kept walking at a quick pace and Dr. Butler was unable to see any obstruction which a rough wilderness road might present, and liable at any moment to fall, and so to be dragged by the neck till the horse should stop. After walking some distance in the dark, on representing the danger of his situation, he was taken up behind the saddle, his chains being still fastened to the horses' neck and short enough to keep his neck close to the shoulder of the guard. In this situation the horse fell. Both his riders fell under him, and neither the horse or either of the men could rise till the others should come, and after ascertaining their situation by the sense of feeling, roll thehorse over. Dr. Butler was considerably hurt, but the soldier more, having two ribs broken.... When they laid

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29. Worcester to the Board, July 18, 1831, in Missionary Herald, XXVII, 298-302.

> down (later in the night) the prisoner was chained to the bedstead by the ancle, the officer, however, putting a handkerchief around under the chain. The next day they had 35 miles or more to travel. Dr. Butler wore the chain one his neck, but no longer fastened to a horse. He was occasionally permitted to ride, one or other of the soldiers walking in his stead. At night he was chained to Mr. McLeod and me.

On July 18 Mr. Thompson arrived at Camp Gilmer with a writ of habeas corpus which he presented to Colonel Nelson, but the prisoners were kept in prison until July 21, when they were furnished with horses and were taken to Lawrenceville, Georgia. On Saturday, July 23, 1831, they had their preliminary trial before the county court. In the course of the trial, Colonel Nelson alleged that the reason for his delay in bringing the prisoners to court in compliance with the writ was the fact that he was waiting for evidence against the prisoners which Governor Gilmer possessed. He then presented a letter to the court which he had received from the governor, directing him to have the prisoners arrested again at once if the court should release them, or if they should be allowed to give bail. The court, however, bound them over to the next term of the superior court of Gwinnett County. The prisoners made bail and left Lawrenceville unmolested on the following Monday morning.[30]

Before the time for their final trial, Dr. Worcester and Dr. Butler removed their families from New Echota and

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30. Missionary Herald, XXVII, 302.

Ha ›ie to Brainerd. On Septe ber 15, 1831, they faced their trial at Lawrenceville, Along with them were tried for the same offence two other missionaries, J. J. Trott and J. F. Wheeler and seven other white men who were not missionaries. They were all found guilty and sentenced by Judge Clayton to a term of four years in the penitentiary. The judge recommended executive clemency if they would take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the late law or would leave the Cherokee nation.[31]

When the prisoners arrived at the penitentiary on September 22, they were informed by the inspectors of the prison that if they would le ve the Cherokee nation or take the oath of allegiance, the governor would pardon them and they might depart at once. All but Dr. Butler and Dr. Worcester accepted the conditions and thus avoided the prison.[32] Those two missionaries, however, went into the prison and appealed their case on a writ of error to the supreme court of the United States. The case, styled Worcester vs. Georgia, has already been recounted at the begining of this chapter. Though the missionaries won their suit, they were kept in prison until January 15, 1833, when they were set free by a proclamation of Governor Lumpkin.[33]

When their missionaries were arrested in 1831, the eight Presbyterian mission stations were all in a prosperous

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31. Ibid., 363.
32. Ibid., 365.
33. Walker, op. cit., 294-296.

condition except one. The Brainerd station had lost its school buildings by fire in March, 1829, and was rebuilding them. On June 1, 1831, there were one hundred and fifty pupils in the other seven schools and 213 members in the eight churches. A Cherokee Sunday School Union had been started, embracing six Sunday Schools, eight teachers and 113 scholars. The advance of the Indians in civilization was encouraging, and the mass of them at least outwardly had embraced Christianity; but they were greatly agitated about their political affairs. But after the missionaries had been compelled to leave, the stations at Carmel and Hightower were abandoned for the time being.[34] At the close of 1831, the new school at Amohee was in a "healthy condition." And at Candy's Creek a new house of worship had just been completed and fine progress was being made in the school.[35]

The conditions existing among the Cherokees in 1832 caused the missionaries many trials and hardships. After the imprisonment of Drs. Worcester and Butler, Miss Post conducted the school at Haweis, until all the buildings were accidentally burned on March 21, 1832, and Miss Sawyer conducted the school at New Echota.[36] New buildings having been completed, the Brainerd school was recommenced in January, 1833.[37]

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34. Missionary Herald, XXVII, 6-7.
35. Ibid., 78-79.
36. Missionary Herald, XXIX, 158, 190.
37. Ibid., 116-117.

The prospects around Willstown, Alabama, were reported as gloomy in the early part of the year. Alabama had also extended her jurisdiction over the Cherokees within her bounds and the whites were "flocking into the valley looking for land."[38] At the other stations the work moved on at a normal pace through the year.

While Worcester and Butler were in prison, Georgia repealed her act against whites residing among the Cherokees, and when they were released in January, 1833, they soon returned to their former work at New Echota and Haweis. Messrs. Buterick and Proctor also returned from Candy's Creek to their former station at Carmel and reopened school about May 20, 1833. The report for the year showed that there were 262 members of the Presbyterian churches and sixty-eight pupils in the schools. Much good was being done with "books in the Cherokee tounge." The development of the Cherokees in civilization, however, had "ceased", and "the movement of the people as a whole is at present retrograde."[39]

On February 20, 1834, Mr. Worcester received the following notice relative to the mission property at New Echota:

> Sir:--It becomes my duty to give you notice to evacuate the lot of land No. 125 in the 14th district of the 3d section, and to give the houses now occupied

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38. Ibid., 191.
39. "Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in ibid., 459-461.

> by you up to Col. William Harding or whoever he may put forward to take possession of the same; and that you may have ample time to prepare for the same, I will allow you until the 28th of this month to do the same.
> Given under my hand this 18th Feb. 1834.
> Wm. Springer.
> Agent for the Cherokees in Georgia.

Dr. Worcester complied with the order, closed out the mission, and moved his family to Brainerd. By a similar notice, Dr. Butler had previously been forced to surender the mission property at Hawsis,[40] and he also moved to Brainerd. In September, 1834, Mr. Isaac Proctor, who had been laboring at Amohee, left the missionary service of the Cherokees. Mrs. Hoyt, widow of Ard Hoyt, and her daughter, Anna, who had been serving at Willstown, removed to Ohio in the spring of 1834. At the close of the year, the pupils at all the stations numbered 180, and 250 were being taught to read their own language by two itinerant teachers. The conditions of the Cherokees near the close of 1834 were described in part:[41]

> The anxious and distracted state of the Cherokees, arising from the division of counsels which prevails among themselves, from the aggression and violence of the white settlers who are pressing in upon them, and from the darkness which hangs over their future destiny almost wholly unfits them to listen to any instruction, or to advance in any course of improvement.

The conditions of the Cherokees became more unsettled as time went on. Many of the Indians removed from Georgia

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40. Missionary Herald, XXX, 193.
41. "Annual Report," in Missionary Herald, XXXI, 21-23.

into Tennessee or elsewhere after their land had been distributed among the white settlers. Also, the constant agitation over a treaty of removal kept the Indians in a state of uncertainty. All of this reflected on the work of the missions. In 1835 the five Presbyterian stations struggled along without any noticeable change. In April of that year, Dr. Worcester removed from Brainerd to Dwight, now Little Rock, Arkansas. He took with him a printing press and resumed his work of translating and printing for the Cherokees of the West.[42]

In 1836 and 1837 the work of the missions declined steadily until it almost reached the closing point. About the first of March, 1836, the Brainerd school closed because the Indians had moved away. Missionary Buterick and his wife, later in the year, moved to Brainerd and his church at the Carmel station united with the Brainerd church. That closed the work at Carmel. Mr. and Mrs. Ellsworth and Catherine Fuller left Brainerd in May, 1836, and returned to the North for their health. Dr. and Mrs. Butler, with Miss Sargent, opened a new mission and school at Red Clay, Tennessee, twenty miles east of Brainerd, in September, 1836. Sophia Sawyer, former teacher at New Echota, also opened a school at Running Water, near John Ridge's place, in Tennessee. At the close of the year the four churches reported a combined membership

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42. Missionary Herald, XXXII, 21-22.

of 270, and the several schools reported 160 students.[43] But by the end of 1837, only three missionaries and their wives, and four assistants remained among the Cherokees. Practically all the schools had been discontinued, and the church members, excepting at Brainerd, were very much scattered.[44]

In the spring of 1838, General Winfield Scott was dispatched to take charge of the troops in the Cherokee country and to get all in readiness for the removal of the Indians. The Indians were collected in camps during the summer, and in the fall they were to start westward in companies of one thousand each. Dr. Butler was employed by the chiefs as a physician of one of the companies of emigrants. On October 10, 1838, he wrote from near McMinnsville, Tennessee, that there was much sickness among the Cherokees, and that two thousand out of some sixteen thousand Indians had died since they were taken into camps in the preceding June.[45] That was the last message received from the Presbyterian missionaries east of the Mississippi.

IV. The Methodist Missionaries.

The adoption and publication of a set of resolutions, in 1830, by the Methodist missionaries, who resented the action of Georgia toward the Cherokees, has been noted earlier in

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43. Missionary Herald, XXXIII, 19-20.
44. Missionary Herald, XXXIV, 11-12.
45. Walker, op. cit., 324; Missionary Herald, XXXIV, 484.

this chapter. Also, it has been recounted that the Tennessee Conference, in annual session at Franklin, Tennessee, November 7, 1830, adopted resolutions mildly rebuking the missionaries for their action. The Conference then proceeded to appoint twelve missionaries and two interpreters to the Cherokee nation for 1831, and alloted $2,000 for their support. Five of the men appointed were married and nine were single.[46] The following were their names and the places to which they were assigned: Dixon C. McLeod, superintendent; Green M. Rogers, Cherokee Agency; Martin Wells, Chattooga; Joseph Miller, teacher of Wills's valley school; John Wesley Ponner, Salacoah; George F. Martin, Nahtely; William F. Philips, Tusquitah; Nicholas D. Scales, Turtle Fields, and Edward Graver, on the Wills Valley Circuit; James J. Trott, John F. Boot, and J. Spear, Connesauge; and Young Wolf, at Valley Towns.[47]

These men entered their work in 1831, to face, unwittingly insurmountable difficulties. It has already been related how Mr. McLeod, the superintendent, was arrested, in July of that year, along with Worcester and other missionaries. We have also seen that Rev. J. J. Trott was one of the missionaries who was tried, convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary in September, 1831, but escaped the prison by agreeing to leave the state of Georgia. Several of the other missionaries were located in Georgia also, and they too took

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46. McFerrin, op. cit., 374.
47. Ibid., App., 528.

refuge in Tennessee or Alabama.[48] These troubles caused a number of the circuits to be abandoned, and there was a decrease that year in Cherokee membership in the Methodist church.[49]

Mr. J. B. McFerrin, who had been a missionary among the Cherokees, stated: "The troubles arising out of the removal of the Cherokees west of the Mississippi greatly retarded the church-work among those people for many years."[50] Each year the Indian membership continued to decrease, and the number of Methodist missionaries was also constantly decreased. For example, in 1833, the net loss in Cherokee membership was fifty-four; and Conference that year appointed two white men and three Cherokees as missionaries.[51]

Early in November, 1834, the Cherokee Mission District of the Tennessee Conference was transferred to the Holston Conference.[52] Turtle Fields and John F. Boot, Indian preachers, continued to labor as missionaries among the Cherokees; and Rev. Thomas Springfield, who was Presiding Elder of the Washington District of the Holston Conference, became the new superintendent of Cherokee missions.[53] But the Indian membership continued to decrease through that year, and, at the close of 1835, the total number of Cherokees in connection

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48. Ibid., 371.
49. Ibid., 392.
50. Ibid., 392-393.
51. Ibid., 428-429.
52. Ibid., 443.
53. Ibid., 443, 447.

with the Methodist Church was 531.[54] That number, however, was augmented to 752 by the close of 1836.[55] But the Cherokee membership decreased again the next year because of the removal of the Indians to the West; and in November, 1838, the Holston Conference transferred the Indian missionaries to the Arkansas Conference.[56] The names of the four missionaries who removed to the Cherokees of the West were: E. B. Cumming, John F. Boot, A. Campbell, and Feelookee. Three of them were Cherokee preachers.[57]

V. The Baptist Missions.

While the mission stations to the southwest were experiencing their troubles with Georgia, 1830-1838, the Baptist station on the north bank of the Hiwassee, eight miles north of the Georgia line at Valley Towns, North Carolina, enjoyed an ever increasing prosperity. The revival of religion, which started in 1829, continued unabated and baptisings become more frequent. Less emphasis was placed on school work, farming was abandoned, entirely, and numerous preaching places were opened in a sort of circuit embracing nearby Indian villages. Three Indian preachers, John Timson, John Wickliffe, and Tsulawee aided Evan Jones in that work.[58]

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54. Ibid., 453-454.
55. Ibid., 462.
56. Ibid., 469, 491.
57. Ibid., 491.
58. American Baptist Magazine, XI, 91.

John Ficliffe was employed by the Baptist Board at ten dollars per month.[59] In 1830 thirty-seven Cherokees were baptized (only one spoke English) and, also, one negro.[60] In the early part of 1831, the mission received $500 from the government for the last two quarters work of the schools and the work went on apace.[61] In 1831 the revival continued to spread and many Cherokees were baptized at a village twenty miles from Valley Towns.[62] On the first Saturday in June 1832, thirty-six full Cherokees were baptized at Valley Towns, one a little boy of nine or ten years, and another an aged man of seventy years. In October, 1832, the school at Valley Towns was in a "flourishing condition" and the church membership numbered "upwards of 160 members." Mr. and Mrs. Butterfield and Miss Payner were sent by the Board in October 1832, as an addition to the forces at Valley Towns.[63]

The Teneerattee school, which was begun by Rev. O'Bryant in 1831, for some unknown reason was later removed to Hickory Log. Both places were near each other in Georgia. After the removal of the school, the church at Teneerattee continued to be served by Rev. O'Bryant who also organized a church at Hickory Log. In July, 1831, when the trouble between the missionaries and Georgia was at its peak, the

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59. Ibid., 162.
60. Ibid., 91.
61. Ibid., 190.
62. American Baptist Magazine, XIII, 17-18.
63. Ibid., 18.

eighty families of Cherokees, who composed the churches and the school, decided to remove to the West if it could be arranged for their pastor and teacher to accompany them. Accordingly, the Baptist Association of north Georgia granted the churches a dismissal, arrangements were made for Rev. O'Bryant to accompany them, the school was closed in November, and the journey to the west of the Mississippi was soon begun. At the time of the closing of the mission, the school numbered about thirty pupils. And the church at Hickory-Log contained thirty-four members while the church at Tensawattee had thirty members.[64] On May 6, 1832, this migration had reached its destination seventy miles north of Fort Smith, Arkansas, and twenty miles from the Arkansas line. On that day Rev. O'Bryant opened school and began a new mission.[65]

In September, 1832, Mr. Evan Jones wrote: "We have a native brother on a visit with us, named Jesse Bushyhead, (a full-blood), who lives about 75 miles west of this place." Jones went on then to recount how, in 1830, Bushyhead was converted from Pedobaptist views of baptism by reading the New Testament alone. "He was unacquainted with Baptists, and they with him." Bushyhead heard of a Baptist meeting some twenty miles distant from his home at Amohee. He attended the meeting and was baptized. A Baptist preacher, who lived in Tennessee north of the Hiwassee, was present at the time.

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64. Ibid., 19.
65. Ibid., 339.

He visited the community and preached for the Indians once a month for a time. His efforts bore fruit, and, in the summer of 1831, a Baptist church was organized for white, black, and Indian members. Bushyhead was soon ordained as pastor of the new church. It was located twenty miles from Amohee, south of the Hiwassee, in what is now eastern Bradley County, Tennessee.[66] In April, 1833, this Baptist church numbered seventy-three members, thirty-five of whom were Cherokees.[67]

The mission force at Valley Towns in 1833 consisted of Evan Jones, Mrs. Jones, Leonard Butterfield, Mrs. Butterfield, Miss Sarah Payner, and four native assistants. No farming was being done, because it was found to be "detrimental to the best interests of the mission."[68] Near the close of 1833, the school at Valley Towns had twenty-one boarding students. There were others who attended the school, including many parents of the students. The church then numbered 192 members, all of whom belonged to a temperance society.[69] On Sunday, April 19, 1834, Mr. Jones baptized thirteen full blooded Cherokees, one of whom was a woman who had walked twenty-three miles for the occasion. The baptising took place at Codelukee, one of the preaching

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66. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, Sept. 7, 1833, in American Baptist Magazine, XII, 395-396.
67. American Baptist Magazine, XIII, 227.
68. Ibid., 227.
69. American Baptist Magazine, XIV, 41.

stations.[70] At that time, Jones and his associates had seven such stations, at four of which were commodious log meeting houses. These were not churches, but only served as outposts for the church at Valley Towns.[71] Early in 1835 the revival began to abate. Mr. and Mrs. Butterfield discontinued their services at the station and Mr. Columbus F. Sturgis succeeded Mr. Butterfield as principal of the school. In April, 1835, the school was flourishing. The seven out stations were still being visited as formerly, and the church then consisted of 227 members.[72]

In the early days of September, 1835, Mr. Jones, John Wicliffe, and Osulawee rode on horseback seventy-five miles to organize a church at Amohee, near Candy's Creek. When they arrived at their destination, they found that a new hewn log house 35 x 25 feet, had already been erected as a church house. The church was organized on Saturday, September 5, and was constituted with twenty-three members. Elder Brewer of Tennessee aided in the organization. The newly organized church then proceeded to call Rev. Jesse Bushyhead as its pastor. There were two services held on Sunday, one in the morning and one in the evening. At the morning service, a Cherokee woman was immersed into the "newest of churches," and the ordiance of the Lord's Supper was observed. Another service was held on Monday morning; after which, the

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70. American Baptist Magazine, XIV, 228
71. Ibid., 227-228.
72. American Baptist Magazine, XV, 218-219.

preachers from Valley Towns began their return journey.[73]

Previous to April 7, 1835, the whole number of baptisms at Valley Towns had been 260. Of those, 244 were Indians--117 males and 127 females; 15 whites and 1 black. Twenty-three Indians had died, and nine had been excluded, leaving the number of Cherokee members at 213--102 males and 110 females. The whole number of the church was then, including whites, 227. From April 1835 to April 1836, the number of baptisms was 34. Twenty-three had been dismissed to form the new church at Amchee. Two suspensions and four exclusions left a net increase of five for the year. So the total membership of the Valley Towns church in April, 1836, was 232. At that time, the Board had under consideration the expediency of supplying the station with a printing press as the demand for the Scripture in the Cherokee tongue was still increasing.[74]

In the summer of 1836, all the mission work suffered because the scarcity of corn forced the Indians to disperse in search of food.[75] Mr. Jones wrote of the conditions:

> The trying time for the Cherokees has arrived. They are indeed in a distressed condition. Provisions very scarce and very dear: corn two dollars a bushel, and bacon twenty cents a pound: government urging them to go to the west to which they have an utter aversion, and in the midst of all these calamities, many of them with no God, to whom they can flee for refuge.

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73. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, Sept. 8, 1835, in ibid., 483-484.
74. Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVI, 128.
75. Ibid., 255.

In August, 1836, on account of coming into conflict with certain measures designed to effect the removal of the Cherokees to the Western Territory, Mr. Jones and several others were arrested by the commanding officer of the United States troops, and subsequently were obliged to leave the Cherokee territory. Mr. Jones located near Columbus, in Monroe County, Tennessee, and continued his work among the Indians.[76] In reporting his removal to the Board, he wrote:[77]

> Since my last, the Cherokees of our vicinity have been kept in a state of constant agitation by the urgency of the government agents to induce them to agree to the late treaty made by a few individuals, in opposition to the protestations of the body of the people. In consequence of this, and having suffered some molestations from the officers of the government with prospects of being exposed to further vexations, we have been much hurried in removing to this place (Four Mile Branch, Monroe County, Tennessee).

Notwithstanding the disturbed conditions and perplexities of the Cherokees, the Baptist missions continued to enjoy a marked degree of success. The additions for the year April 1, 1836 to April 1, 1837, were fourty-four. After Mr. Jones was obliged to remove to Tennessee, it appears that Amohee was made the center from which the Baptist missionaries efforts radiated. For, in April, 1837, "about

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76. Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVII, 123-124.
77. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, Sept. 9, 1836, in ibid., 44.

twenty of the preaching places among the Cherokees belonged to this station."[78] In June, 1837, Mr. Jones accompanied by Mr. Bushyhead of the Amohee station made a twenty days circuit among the Lower Cherokees. While on that journey they preached twenty-six times, administered the Lord's Supper once, held six conferences, received twenty-nine candidates for baptism and baptized twenty-two persons. The total number of additions to the Baptist churches for the ten months next preceding April, 1838, was one hundred and seven.[79]

The time limit set for the removal of the Cherokees by the New Echota treaty expired on May 23, 1838. Before that date, however, preparations for the removal under the supervision of General Winfield Scott, were well under way. Mr. Jones wrote of the situation on May 21:[80]

> Our minds of late, have been in a state of intense anxiety and agitation. The major-general has arrived, and issued his summons, declaring that every man, woman and child of the Cherokees must be on their way to the West before another moon shall pass. The troops, by the thousands, are assembling around the devoted victims. The Cherokees, in the meantime, apprized of all that is doing, wait the result of these terrific preparations, with feelings not to be described.

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78. "Board Report," Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVII, 124.
79. "Board Report," Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII, 137.
80. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, May 21, 1838, in Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII, 236.

By the middle of June nearly all the Cherokees had been placed in camps and military posts scattered through the Cherokee territory. Two companies, consisting of nine hundred and seven hundred Indians respectively, had already been loaded on flat-boats at Ross's Landing and dispatched down the Tennessee River. Mr. Jones, Jesse Bushyhead, and Stephen Foreman, a Cherokee preacher from Brainerd, were prisoners in Camp Hetzel, near Cleveland, Tennessee. The preachers were allowed to preach to the Indians in the camp, but no one was permitted to leave camp without a passport.[81]

In June the principal Cherokees petitioned General Scott, "begging most earnestly," not to be sent west until the sickly season was past.[82] After some time had elapsed, the General agreed to suspend the transportation of the Cherokees until the fall of 1838.[83] Early in August a delegation of Cherokees, who had been to Washington to protest against the removal, having been referred to General Scott, arrived at Camp Hetzel. This delegation laid the matter before a general council of the Indians. The council reiterated the protest against the whole of the treaty of

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81. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, June 16, 1838, in ibid., 237.
82. Ibid.
83. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, July 11, 1838. in ibid., 237.

New Echota, claiming that the treaty had been made by a few irresponsible Indians and never ratified by the Cherokee nation. Finally, however, an agreement was reached between the council and General Scott. The Indians agreed to go West, but they were not to be removed nor accompanied by the army. The Indians were to organize themselves into companies of one thousand to fifteen hundred each. Each company was to choose its own leader. General Scott was to appoint persons to buy wagons and teams for the use of the Indians. Also, he was to select clerks to keep an accurate record of the loss of property sustained by the Cherokees, which was to be paid for by the United States.[84]

It was arranged that the first detachment of the migration should start on September 1, and other detachments were to follow at short intervals. Jones and Bushyhead were each chosen to conduct a company on its journey. But regardless of their new duties these missionaries continued to preach and baptize. Shortly before they departed for the West, they held a morning service on August 26, probably at Camp Hetzel, and baptized fifty-six "hopeful believers in the Lord Jesus Christ."[85] Thus was brought to a close the Baptist Cherokee missions east of the Mississippi River.

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84. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, Aug. 13, 1838, in Baptist Missionary Magazine, XIX, 39.
85. Jones to the Corresponding Secretary, Aug, 27, 1838, in Baptist Missionary Magazine, XVIII, 202.

VI. In Conclusion.

An honest effort has been made in the preceding pages to give an accurate and unbiased account of all the missions established, and the missionaries who labored, among the Cherokees before their removal. How well that purpose has been accomplished is left to the reader to judge. No effort has been made to follow the history of missions among the Cherokees after they reached the Indian Territory. That task is left for another. But it will not be amiss, however, to state that the Moravian, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Baptist missionaries who accompanied the Cherokees to their new homes opened new missions and schools and continued their work under the patronage of their respective boards and conferences.

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Appendix A

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF THE MISSIONARIES RELATIVE TO THE CONTEMPLATED PLAN OF REMOVING THE INDIANS. (From the Missionary Herald, March, 1831, pp. 79-84.)

The missionaries of the Board, it is believed, have never interfered with the political concerns of the people among whom they have respectively resided, by giving advice or exerting influence publicly or privately; unless the regular discharge of their duties as Christian teachers be considered as such interference. Such is the tenor of the instructions uniformly given them. It is to be expected, however, that where the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion are faithfully preached among an unevangelized people and a large portion of the most intelligent youth are educated in Christian schools, that savage laws and usages will be gradually modified, and at length supplanted by the laws and usages which prevail among Christian and civilized nations. The prevalence of Christianity in a country has always been accompanied by such a change. The change is desirable; and it is one of the objects, though not the principal one, nor the one directly aimed at, in establishing missions in heathen countries.

Yet the mere fact, that men are Christian missionaries, cannot deprive them of the right to have an opinion, and to express it publicly, on an important moral question, though the question may involve the civil rights of the people among whom they reside, and affect their political as well as their moral welfare. The question at present agitated, respecting the removal of the southwestern Indians across the Mississippi, is regarded by the missionaries of the board

among the Cherokees, as a question of such a nature that they could not maintain their character as preachers of righteousness without stating their views freely upon it. The missionaries of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, and of the United Brethren, viewed the subject in the same light. The Methodist missionaries, at a meeting previously held, had expressed their veiws on the question, and caused them to be published, which were in perfect accordance with what is here expressed by their brethren of the other denominations.

It is obvious that no persons possess so ample means as the missionaries, of knowing what the present condition and prospects of the Cherokees are; what progress they are making in improvement; and what their wishes respecting removal are; and of forming so correct an opinion with regard to the effect which the contemplated plan, if carried into execution, would probably have on their future improvement and welfare. The persons, whose names are connected with the following document, reside at eleven different stations, so scattered over the country as to give them access to all the people; the Cherokees are constantly in the habit of visiting them, and holding the most familiar intercourse with them; and they, in performing their duties as missionaries, are accustomed frequently to itinerate to every part of the nation.

At a meeting held at New Echota, December 29th, 1830, the following persons were present:

Rev Daniel S. Butrick
Rev Wm. Chamberlin
Rev. Wm. Potter
Rev. S. A. Worcester
Rev. John Thompson

Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Mr. Isaac Proctor	
Doct. Elizur Butler	Assistant missionaries of the A. B.
Mr. John C. Elsworth	C. F. M.
Mr. Wm. Holland	
Rev Gottlieb Byhan	Missionaries of the U. Brethren's
Rev H. G. Clauder	Church
Rev. Evan Jones,	Missionary of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.

Daniel S. Butrick was chosen chairman of the meeting, and S. A. Worcester secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the chairman.

After deliberate consultation, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be presented for publication to the editor of the Cherokee Phoenix.

Resolved: That we view the Indian Question, at present so much agitated in the United States, as being not merely of a political but of a moral nature —— inasmuch as it involves the maintainance or violation of the faith of our country——and as demanding, therefore, the most serious consideration of all American citizens, not only as patriots, but as Christians.

Resolved, That we regard the present crisis of affairs, relating to the Cherokee nation, as calling for the sympathies, and prayers, and aid, of all benevolent people throughout the United States.

Resolved, That the frequent insinuations, which have been publicly made, that missionaries have used an influence in directing

the political affairs of this nation, demand from us an explicit and public disavowal of the charge; and that we therefore solemnly affirm, that in regard to ourselves at least, every such insinuation is entirely unfounded.

Resolved, That while we distinctly aver that it is not any influence of ours, which has brought the Cherokees to the resolution not to exchange their place of residence, yet it is impossible for us not to feel a lively interest in a subject of such vital importance to their welfare; and that we can perceive no consideration, either moral or political, to restrain us from a free and public expression of our opinion.

Resolved, Therefore, that we view the removal of this people to the west of the Mississippi as an event to be most earnestly deprecated; threatening greatly to retard, if not totally to arrest their progress in religion, civilization, learning, and the useful arts; to involve them in great distress, and to bring upon them a complication of evils, for which the prospect before them would offer no compensation.

Resolved, That we deem ourselves absolutely certain that the feelings of the whole mass of the Cherokee people, including all ranks, with scarcely a few individual exceptions, are totally averse to a removal, so that nothing but force, or such oppression that they would esteem equivalent to force, could induce them to adopt such a measure.

Resolved, As our unanimous opinion, that the establishment of the jurisdiction of Georgia, and other states, over the Cherokee

people, against their will, would be an immense and irreparable injury.

Whereas we have frequently seen, in the public prints, representations of the state of this people, which we know to be widely at variance with the truth, and which are highly injurious in their tendency,

Resolved, That we regard it as no more than an act of justice to the Cherokee nation, that we publish the following statement, and subjoin our names, in testimony of its correctness.

The Cherokees have been advancing in civilization for a considerable number of years, and are still advancing as rapidly, we believe, as ever. Our various opportunities of acquaintance with them have been such, that we suppose our united estimate of their progress cannot vary widely from the truth. Of this, however, the public must judge. Mr. Byhan first arrived in the nation as a missionary in May 1801, left it in 1812, and returned in 1827. Mr. Butrick arrived in January, and Mr. Chamberlin in March, 1818. Mr. Potter and Doct. Butler arrived in January 1821; And Mr. Elsworth and Mr. Jones in November of the same year; Mr. Proctor in October, 1822; Mr. Holland in November 1823; Mr. Worcester in October 1825; Mr. Claudor in November 1828; and Mr. Thompson in January 1829. We occupy eleven stations, in different parts of the nation. One of these stations is in that part which is considered to have made the least progress in civilization.

When we say that the Cherokees are rapidly advancing in civilization, we speak of them as a body. There are very different degrees of improvement; some families having risen to a level with

the white people of the United States, while the progress of others has but commenced. Between the extremes are all grades, but we do not believe there is a family in the nation which has not in a measure felt the change. That the Indians of mixed blood should upon an average be in advance of the full Indians, was to be expected, and is undoubtedly true; although some Indians of full blood are in the foremost rank, and some of mixed blood help to bring up the rear.

It has been represented, not only that improvement is confined almost exclusively to Indians of mixed blood, but that these constitute an insignificant portion of the nation. Neither representation is correct. We believe that not less than one fourth part of the people are in greater or less degree mixed. The number of families of mixed blood had been stated at about two hundred, which is less than the number of families of which one parent is white. That these can bear but a small proportion to the number in which one or both parents are of mixed blood is manifest, since the process of amalgamation has been going on for many years, until the descendants of whites are to be found of at least the sixth generation.

But, as we have already said, it is far from being true that improvement is chiefly confined to this class. It is well known that the Cherokees were originally found by the Europeans in a purely savage state, naked almost in summer, and clothed with skins in winter, living in miserable huts, without floors or chimneys, and subsisting, partly indeed by agriculture, but mainly, by the chase. Without instruments of iron, and without the art of manufacturing cloth, it could not be far otherwise. To this purely savage state the present certainly bears a far less resemblance, than to that of the civilized people of the

United States. The very lowest class, with few exceptions, are, in our apprehension, as near the latter as the former. As to the straggling beggars, who are seen abroad in the white settlements, they ought only to be compared with the drunken stragglers of other nations, to judge of comparative civilisation.

It would swell our statement beyond a proper length to descend into many particulars, but it seems necessary to specify a few.

At present many of the Cherokees are dressed as well as the whites around them, and of most of them the manner of dress is substantially the same. A part of the old men, perhaps nearly half, retain, not indeed the original Indian dress, but that, nearly, which prevailed a dozen years since. Almost all the younger men have laid it aside. A very few aged women are seen with only a petticoat and short gown, meeting each other at the waist, which, twenty years ago, was the general style of female dress. Except these very few, no woman appears without at least a decent gown, extending from the neck to the feet. Twenty years ago most of the Cherokee children of both sexes, were entirely naked during most of the year. Now there are few, if any families, where the children are not habitually clothed; and especially a Cherokee girl, without decent clothing, is an object very seldom seen. If the present course continues, when those who are now in the decline of life shall have passed away, the dress of the Cherokees will scarcely distinguish them from their white neighbours.

The Cherokee women generally manufacture more or less good substantial cloth. Many families raise their own cotton. A great part of their clothing is manufactured by themselves, though not a little is of New England and foreign manufacture.

Thirty years ago a plough was scarcely seen in the nation. Twenty years ago there were nearly 500. Still the ground was cultivated chiefly by the hoe only. Six years ago, the number of ploughs, as enumerated, was 2,923. Among us all, we scarcely know a field which is now cultivated without ploughing. Consequently, the quantity of land under cultivation has increased several fold. Habits of industry are much increased, and still increasing; and though many fail in this respect, so that the more indolent sometimes trespass upon the hospitality of the more industrious, yet most families provide, in the produce of their fields, for the supply of their own want, and many raise considerable quantities of corn for sale. Suffering for want of food is rare, we believe, as in any part of the civilised world.

The dwellings of the Cherokees are comfortable log cabins. The meanest are not meaner than those of some of the neighbouring whites. Formerly their huts had neither floors nor chimneys. Twenty years since, nearly all had chimneys, but few had floors. Now most of the cabins are floored, besides being much improved in other respects. Many of the houses in the nation are decent two-story buildings, and some are elegant.

In the furniture of their houses perhaps, the mass of the people suffer more, than in almost any other respect by comparison with their white neighbours. Yet in this particular we notice a very rapid change in the course of a few years past.

The diffusion of property among the people is becoming more general.

In no respect, perhaps is the approach to civilization more

evident than in regard to the station assigned to women. Though in this there is still room for improvement, yet in general they are allowed to hold their proper place.

Polygamy, which has prevailed to some extent, is becoming rare. It is forbidden by law, but the law being as yet without a penalty attached has probably much less influence than public opinion, which makes the practice highly disreputable. A few are still living in a state of polygamy, but at present almost no one enters the state.

Superstition still bears considerable sway, but its influence is rapidly declining. Customs which once it was infamous to violate are fast disappearing. Most of the young men of the nation appear to be entirely ignorant of a large portion of the former superstitions. Ancient traditions are fading from memory, and can scarcely be collected, if any one would commit them to paper. Conjuring, however, is still, to a considerable extent, practised by the old, and believed in by the less enlightened even of the young.

In regard to intemperance, there is much to deplore, but it is, we believe, an undisputed fact, that its prevalence has greatly diminished and is still diminishing. Indeed, we are confident that, at present, the Cherokees would not suffer in this respect by a comparison with the white population around. In regard to scenes of intoxication exhibited at the sessions of courts, and on other public occasions, the Cherokees, in consequence of their wholesome laws on the subject, have greatly the advantage.

In education we do not know that the progress of the Cherokees should be called rapid. Certainly it is far less than is

desirable. The following facts, however, will serve to correct some misstatements on this subject. We have before us the names of 200 Cherokee men and youths who are believed to have obtained an English education sufficient for the transaction of ordinary business. Females, it will be observed, are excluded, as are many men and youths who can barely read and write. Of these 200 persons, about 132 were instructed wholly within the nation, about 24 received within the nation sufficient instruction to enable them to transact ordinary business, independently of superadded advantages, and about 44 were instructed chiefly abroad. We doubt not that a more extended acquaintance would increase the list. An increasing anxiety among the people for the education of their children is very apparent.

Of the number who are able to read their own language in Guess's alphabet we should vary somewhat in our individual estimates. None of us, however, supposes that less than a majority of those who are between childhood and middle age can read with greater or less facility.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the representation that any class of the Cherokees are in any respect deteriorating. However slow may be the progress of a portion of the people, their course is manifestly not retrograde, but progressive.

In regard to the state of religion we deem it sufficient to state, as nearly as we are able, the number of members of the several religious societies. To the Presbyterian churches belong 219 members, of whom 167 are Cherokees. In the United Brethren's churches are 45 Cherokee members. In the Baptist churches probably about 90, we know not the exact number. The official statement of the Methodist missionaries

made a little more than a year ago gave 736 as the number of members in their societies, including those who are denominated seekers. The number according to the report of the present year we have not been able to ascertain. We are assured not less than 850. Of these the greater part are Cherokees.

While we represent the Cherokee people as having made great advances in civilization and knowledge, we wish not to be understood to attribute all to the influence of missionary efforts. We trust that missionaries, besides introducing the religion of the gospel, have had their share of influence in promoting education, and the habits of civilized life. But this influence was not alone, nor was it the first which began to be felt.

The intermixture of white people with the Indians has undoubtedly been a considerable cause of the civilization of the latter. The operation of this cause upon the descendants of white men we believe is not called in question; but some have seemed to suppose its influence on the full Indians to have been of an opposite character. To say nothing of the improbability of such a supposition considered as theory, it is manifestly contrary to fact in relation to this people. The less civilized Indians are led by degrees, and more and more rapidly as prejudices subside, to adopt the better customs of the more civilized, whose examples are constantly before them.

The proximity of the whites, also, is by no means injurious in every respect. The evil which they have brought upon the Indians by the introduction of ardent spirits, and of vices before unknown among them, is indeed great. On the other hand, the gradual assimilation of the tribe, thus surrounded by civilized people, to the customs

and manners which constantly invite their imitation, and the facility thus afforded for procuring the comforts of life, are benefits of no little value. To deprive them of these advantages, while in their present state, would be an incalculable evil.

In relation to the arts of civilized life, and especially those of spinning and weaving, most important results were produced by the system of means proposed by Washington, and carried into effect by some of the former agents of the government; particularly Col. Dinsmore, to whom the Cherokees acknowledge themselves greatly indebted.

It has been often represented that white men and half-breeds control the political affairs of the nation. White men can, by the constitution have no part in the government; and to us it is evident that the influence of the white citizens of the nation over its political concerns is of very little consideration. For ourselves we have already disclaimed such influence. Not only have we been disposed, on our own part, carefully to avoid all interference with such concerns, but we well know that the Cherokees would ever have repelled such influence with indignation. Since, however, all that has been said of our influence has been mere surmise, without even the pretence of evidence, we cannot suppose that much more is necessary on our part, than to deny the charge.

That the Indian of mixed blood possess in a considerable degree that superior influence which naturally attends superior knowledge, cannot be doubted. Of this description certainly are the greater portion of those through whose influence a happier form of government has taken the place of that under which the Cherokees formerly lived. But

it would be a power of a far different kind from any which exists in the Cherokee nation, which could, as these leading men have been represented to do, assume and maintain an important position, in opposition to the will of the people. Particularly is there overwhelming evidence that no man, whatever degree of talent, or knowledge, or previous influence he might possess, could possibly find his way into office at the present time, whose views were known to contravene those of the mass of the people on the grand subject of national interest---a removal to the west. The disposal of office is in the hands of the people---the people require patriotism, and the very touchstone of patriotism is, "Will he sell his country?"

It may not be amiss to state what proportion the Indian blood actually bears to the white in the principal departments of the Cherokee government. The present principal chief, Mr. John Ross, is, we believe, but one eighth Cherokee. Maj. Lowrey, the second principal chief, is one half Cherokee. The Legislature consists of two branches, styled the National Committee and Council, the former numbering 16 members, and the latter 24. The presiding officers of both these branches are full Cherokees. Of the Committee, two only, including the President, are full Indians, of the rest seven are half Indians, two more, and five less, than half. Of the Council, 16 are supposed to be full Indians, seven half, and one only one fourth. No measure can be adopted without the concurrence of both houses, and consequently every public measure has the sanction of a body of which two thirds of the members are of unmixed Indian blood. Each succeeding election may vary the proportion. This is, as nearly as we can ascertain the proportion as it now stands.

The effect of the new form of government, adopted by the Cherokees, has been represented abroad, we know not on what grounds, to be prejudicial to the interests of the people. On this subject it does not belong to us to theorise. We can only say that the actual effect, as it passes under our own observation, is highly beneficial; nor is there any class on whom it operates injuriously.

One other representation we feel it our duty to notice, viz: that the people are deterred from the expression of opinion by the fear of the chiefs. Nothing, we are sure, could be more unfounded. Freedom of speech exists nowhere more unrestrained than here. Individuals may possibly be restrained from the expression of an opinion favourable to the removable of the nation, by the dread of incurring the odium of public sentiment; but this is the only restraint and it is one which supposes, what in fact exists, an overwhelming torrent of national feeling in opposition to removal.

It is on this subject, most of all, that the views of the Cherokees have been ascribed to the influence of missionaries. In denying all interference with their political concerns, we have repelled this insinuation. We would not be understood to affirm that we have always studiously avoided the expression of our opinions, but that we have not acted the part of advisers, nor would, nor could have influenced the views of the people or their rulers.

In reference to the subjecting of the Cherokees to the jurisdiction of the several states, whose chartered limits embrace their country, it may not be improper to state what, from a constant residence among them, we cannot but perceive to be their feelings. One sentiment manifestly pervades the whole nation---that the extension

of the laws of the states over them, without their consent, would be a most oppressive and flagrant violation of their natural and conventional rights; and the suffrance of it by the United States, as flagrant a violation of those treaties on which alone they have relied for security. It would be as idle, also, as it is distant from our wish, to conceal, that our views on this subject accord with theirs, and that on a topic of such universal excitement, it is impossible that our views should be unknown to them. If the free expression of such an opinion be a crime, to the charge of that crime we plead guilty. If we withhold our opinion when called for, we could not hold up our heads as preachers of righteousness among a people who would universally regard us as abettors of iniquity.

While such are the feelings of the Cherokees, it is impossible that the jurisdiction of the several states should be established over them without producing the most unhappy results. It is not easy to conjecture what course, in such an event, the majority would adopt. Any thing approaching to unanimity could not be expected. Some would undoubtedly join their brethren in Arkansas; some, if we may judge from the remarks which we frequently hear, would seek a refuge beyond the boundaries of the United States; while others still would make the experiment of remaining, subject to authorities to which they must render an unwilling obedience. Either alternative would be adopted with such feelings as would in many, we fear in most instances, preclude the probability of their making further progress in improvement, or even retaining the ground they have gained. The news of the failure of their cause would drive them to despair, and despair, there is every reason to fear, would goad many of them on to ruinous excesses of vice, if not, in some instances,

to blind revenge. Hard is the task of that philanthropist who would attempt to elevate, even to sustain the character of a broken-hearted people. --- But we forbear to dwell upon the anticipation of evils which we earnestly hope will never be realised.

In all the preceding statements we are conscious of having honestly endeavoured to avoid every degree of exaggeration. To us it appears that the Cherokees are in a course of improvement, which promises, if uninterrupted, to place them, at no distant period, nearly on a level with their white brethren. Laboring, as we are to aid them in their progress, we cannot do otherwise than earnestly deprecate any measure which threatens to arrest it. In this light we view the attempt to remove them from their inheritance, or subject them, against their will, to the dominion of others. Our sympathies are with them --- our prayers have ascended often, and shall still ascend, in their behalf--- and we earnestly invite the prayers of all our fellow christians, that HE who rules the destinies of nations will deliver them out of all their afflictions, and establish them in the land which he has given them; and at the same time, that he will open all their hearts to receive the gospel of his son, and thus to secure to themselves the possession of a better country, even a heavenly.

Signed,

Gottlieb Byhan, D. S. Butrick, Wm. Chamberlin, Evan Jones, Wm. Potter, S. A. Worcester, John Thompson, H. G. Clauder, Isaac Proctor, J. C. Elsworth, E. Butler, Wm. Holland.

Appendix B

LETTERS OF GIDEON BLACKBURN TO DR. MORSE

(From the Panoplist, VIII (Boston, 1808), pp. 39, 84, 322, 416, 475, 567)

Marysville, (Tenn) 1807.

Reverend Sir,

As the promise of God respecting the conversion of the heathen are evidently on the eve of being accomplished, and as the friends of zion are anxiously watching the signs of the times, and uniting their prayers around the throne of God for the coming of the kingdom of christ, and especially for the spread of the gospel among the aboriginals of America; it may not be unimportant to give you a concis account of the rise and progress of the mission in which I have been engaged for some years with the Cherokee nation of Indians, bordering on the state of Tennessee. In the year 1794, I settled in that part of the state now called Blount county, at a time when the Cherokees were engaged in a bloody and destructive war with our frontiers. As this circumstance frequently called out the youths of my charge in the defence of their country, and exposed them to the vices attached to the millitary life, I chose at some time to go out with them in their expeditions, and there-by was led into the cause of the savage and wretched state of those Indians. From that moment my mind begain to be agitated with the question; can nothing be done with this people to meliorate their condition? Is it impossible they should be civilized, and become aquainted with the gospel of christ? Some cheering rays of hope would flash upon my mind when I reflected that they were of the same race with ourselves; that they were able

to lay and execute plans with ingenuity and promptness; but on viewing the attempts already made to christianise other nations, and finding that they had mostly proved abortive, I was led seriously to review those plans, that I might if possible discover the defect; and either introduce some amendment, or a plan entirely new. It was very observable, that instead of opening the minds of the Indians, and enlarging the number of their confined ideas, they were often dogmatically instructed on the most exalted subjects that can occupy the mind of the most enlightened man. They were urged to believe, as absolutely necessary, things of which in their intelligence, they could have apprehension, and which, by the manners of the white people with whom they were mostly conversant, they were every day practically taught to doubt, if not entirely to discredit. Hence it was evident, that a plan must be laid with the expectation of having to combat with ignorance, obstinacy, and strong prejudices. I knew that the operations of God on the heart of men were not confined to means. Yet even in religion, cause and effect have been in the order of events without any great deviation. I conceived it therefore indispensable to prepare the mind by the most simple ideas, and by a process which would associate civilization with religious instruction, and thus gradually prepare the rising race for the more sublime truths of religion, as they should be able to view them. I was fully persuaded the plans persued in South America, in effecting what was called the civilization of that country, would not do with this strong minded and high spirited people; that boasted civilization was not the result of determination, but of

more artificial impression; while these bid fair if rightly managed, eventually to become American citizens and a valuable part of the union, this subject impressed my mind more and more and became frequently the object of request at the throne of grace, until the year 1799. In that year I introduced the subject to the Presbytery of union, of which I was a member, but found so many embarrasing difficulties thrown in the way, I was forced to yield any further attempts in that way. In the year following I laid a plan for a missionary society in that country, with special reference to this object; yet though many were highly pleased with the design, the scarcity of money and the poverty of the people in the newly settled country, became such insurmountable object that I was again compelled to give up the attempt. In the year 1803, I came a deligate from our Presbytery to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, hoping I might find some method to bring this subject before that body. For this purpose I had drawn up the outlines of a plan for the education of the Indian children as the most likely mean of accomplishing a revolution in the habits of the nation. A petition was laid before the Assembly, requesting supplies for our frontiers, in which was noticed the state of the Cherokee nation, as exhibiting a field for missionary service. This was referred to the committee of missions, in answer to whose inquiries I presented the proposed plan, and was requested to undertake its execution; the committee agreeing to give 200 dollars for its support, and to engage my services as a missionary for two months. As this sum was quite insufficient, the committee of missions gave me a recommendation to the public to gain pecuniary

aid, and on my return to Tennessee, I collected four hundred and thirty dollars, and some books to be applied by the direction of the committee, to the use of the institution. Foreseeing that many difficulties might obstruct my intercourse with the nation, I waited on the President of the United States, and by the Secretary of war received letters of recommendation to the Indians, and directions to Col Meigs, the agent for Indian affairs, to facilitate my design

I am, &c.

Gideon Blackburn

(to be continued)

Marysville, (Tenn) 1807.

Reverand Sir,

In my last, I had mentioned my appointment by the committee of missions, to the superintendence of education among the Cherokee Indians. In this I shall notice the progress of the mission. Upon my return home in the month of July, I had several interviews with the chiefs of the nation, and sent letters, or as they called them talks, to their councils, in which was stated the design and advantages of such an institution; taking care not to propose any thing, in the performance of which, I could not exceed the promis; as a single failure would have destroyed my credit and ruined the design. The effect was, that in October, at the time of the distribution of the annuity, a council, consisting of upwards of 2000 Indians, assembled, including all the chiefs of the nation. Before this council I laid my plan, and stated all the points I conceived necessary to aid me

in its execution. After spending a day or two in close deliberation, I received their approbation in writing, with a declaration that they would send their children according to my wishes; at the same time they agreed to assist me in fixing a place for the school. The place was chosen near the Highwassee river, in a part of the nation most unlikely to be civilized. A school house, and a house for the teacher were immediately erected. The school house was so constructed that it might serve the children to eat in, and be comfortable for the lodging of the males. The females were appointed to sleep in the master's family. I was remarkably fortunate in the choice of a master; he was a man of prudence, good sense and piety; with a heart fully set on the work. His family was conveniently small, consisting of a wife and one child. All things being now fully prepared, the school was opened in the spring of 1804. In the corse of the first week we had twenty one children, who all gave flattering evidences of promising geniuses. I had conceived it would be one of my greatest difficulties to keep the children at the school. in order to guard against this contemplated evil, I had agreed with the chiefs, that if any of the children should leave the school without permission, or if permitted to go home should stay ten days longer than allowed, without a reasonable excuse, they should forfit the clothing I had given them. the chiefs were bound to send the clothes back, or on their refusal, then, at the distributien of the next annuity I should have a right to deduct the amount from the dividend of such chief, to be applied to the use of the school. this proved an effectual check to their leaving the school, till they became so pleased, that checks were unnecessary. With regard to order and discipline, I presume few schools

can exceed this. Betwene inducements and strict discipline, the children were insensibly brought to yield entire submission to the regulations of the school. At each examination a prize was proposed for the next examination, to be given to the one making the greatest progress. This was faithfully given according to promis. And lest the others should be depressed and discouraged, small presents were given to each one according to his merits. All this was done, as much as possible, under the eye of their parents. As my design was to introduce christianity, as the young mind should be capable of receiving it, the first principles of religion, as contained in the shorter catechism, were early taught, togeather with other short questions of a similar nature. Many hymns of praise were committed to memory from Dr. Watts' Divine Songs, Rippon's Selection, and other compositions. They were taught to sing plain and melodious tunes with a great deal of ease and sweetness. During all theese exercises the utmost care was taken to impress them with solemnity, in order to avoid those habits of lenity so often discovered among ourselvs, when acquiring the music we expect to use in the worship of God. With one of these songs, a portion of Scripture, and prayer, the school was begun and closed each day. This acquisition of songs of praise was also useful in assisting to open the minds of the parents to hear the truths designed to be communicated to them. While seated around in a convenient semi-circle, and the children in the midst, after communicating a few ideas by an interperter, (which was one of the children, as soon as they were capable of the service) the children would join in one of these songs of zion. Then more instruction could be given, and

then another song, and in this way the mind be kept open to the truth; and also the profiting of the children be made to appear to their parents and friends. I will not say music can transform, but sure I am, it has a remarkable tendency to soften the savage mind. I have seen it so impressive, that old warriors (who are remarkably averse to feelings) have sprung on their feet in time of song, clapt their hands on their brest, and in the Cherokee language exclaimed, "my heart sing too

I am yours, &c.

Gideon Blackburn.

P. S. Jan 1, 1807.

To the Presbytery of Union,

We your committee beg leave to report, that we attended at an examined the Highwassee Indian school, and do highly approve of the progress the children have made in every branch of literature they have attempted: reading, writing, cyphering, spelling off the book, and singing spiritual songs. Their progress is really flattering in these different branches, and perhaps is not exceeded in any school amongst ourselves. They appear to understand the things they have attempted to learn, as well they are generally understood by white children. We highly approve the method of teaching and the order of the school, and the children appear to have as just conceptions of order, and as cheerfully to submit to discipline as any children.

Josh. B. Lapsley,

Isaac Anderson.

N. B. The School contains from 45 to 50 Scholars.

* *

2d P. S.

Marysville, Feb 25, 1807.

It is hereby certified that on the 3d of January, 1807, I spent some time in the Highwassee Indian school, established by the Rev. Gideon Blackburn. The number of the scholars was near fifty. Their progress in literature and their advancement in civilisation exceed all belief. The modesty of their department, the ease and decorum of their manners, is not surpassed by any school of white children I have ever seen, nor have I ever witnessed greater docility, or submission to discipline, in the corse of my life. It is my decided opinion, if the institution should be continued, it will eventually, not only be the highest means of their national civilization, but a saving to the United States, as they must very soon become a branch of the Union.

Samuel Love.

Marysville, Nov. 10, 1807.

Dear Sir,

In the course of my observation on missionary attempts among the Cherokee Indians I have concluded, that after the habits are formed, the only way to reduce them is by the influence of the children. To this point I have therefore bent my whole force. The model of dieting, clothing, and instructing them, and even of their recreation was important. During the two first years I laid in all the provision

necessary for table use: hired a cook, who, under the particular direction of the schoolmaster's wife prepared the victuals in American style. I provided a large table and furnished the requisite utensils, around which all the scholars could decently take their seats; and after the master had looked up for a blessing, during which time they all devoutly attended, they were taught the etiquette of the table. It was indeed peculiarly pleasing to see how emulously they strove to excel, and how orderly they would wait for a dismission by the returning of thanks: A conduct which might put to the blush many of our coxcomb would be infedels, who in this respect study to express their contempt of God, to display their ingratitude, and give a specimen of their politeness and superior civilization, by abruptly leaving the table before thanks are returned, and even in the presence of clergymen. Their meals were regular, their diet wholesome, and the preparation neat and cleanly. These things, however small to us, were of the least importance; and to be particularly observed in an institution designed not only to rescue the rising race from savage manners, but also to light up beacons, by which the parents might gradually be conducted into the same field of improvement. The children were all neatly clothed, mostly in stripped cotton, or plain linen, manufactured in Tennessee, and made up by the master's wife, as each scholar stood in need. The females of my own congregation were often active in furnishing part of this supply. Young female youths, who had been the subjects of the remarkable revival of religion in our country, took the frocks off themselves and sent them to the Cherokee children. On the 4th of July, 1805, the whole school appeared before

a larg concourse of red and white people, clothed in one of their donations. I was obliged to furnish blankets for the scholars to sleep on, as the use of beds was not known in the nation. This was an article of considerable expense, and on one occasion had nearly effected the ruin of the institution. In the fall of 1804, a considerable number of blankets were wanting; the money I had procured was so nearly expended, that I dared not lay it out for this article; and as by fatigues and exposure and inflammation had settled in one of my legs, which rendered it both painful and inconvenient to seek for supplies, I was reduced to considerable difficulty, until I conceived of the following expedient. In the October of this fall the annuity was distributed among the Cherokees. I then gave in the names of the children, as part of the nation, and by the influence of Col. Meigs the agent, and a principal Indian Chief, I drew 26 blankets and two other articles; thus we had a comfortable supply for the winter.

The order of the day for school exercises is nearly the following: The children rise, pray, and wash; then the school opens by reading the scriptures, praise and public prayer; are engaged in lessons till breakfast; then have an hour for recreation; are again engaged from 9 to 12; play 2 hours; then in school till evening. In the summer betwene sundown and dark, and in winter betwene dark and 9 o'clock, they have spelling lessons, and close by singing a hymn, and prayer by the master. Then, just before the children lie down, on their knees they commit themselves to the guarding arms of their indulgent Parent, and go to rest securely under his wing.

I am, &c.

Gideon Blackburn.

Marysville, Dec. 14, 1807.

Rev Sir,

In my last I stated the order of the school for each day. In this order we proceeded without much deviation until the July of 1806, the school consisting of from 25 to 30 scholars. About that period the United States had authorised a treaty to be made with the nation, and appointed the place on the Highwassee river, nearly twelve miles by land below the site of my school house, 46 from S. W. Point, 20 above the mouth of the river, and 45 from Tellico blockhouse. At this place was an assemblage of the principal chiefs of the nation. With many of the common people; and betwene two and three hundred white people, among whom were Gen. Smith and Col. Meigs, commissioners for the United States, and Gov. Sevier, commissioner for the state of Tennessee. There I attended with my school, consisting then of 25 scholars. Our passage to the place was indeed romantic. Figure to yourself 25 little savages of the forest, all seated in a large canoe, the teacher at one end and myself at the other, steering our course down the stream, a distance by water of nearly 20 miles. To see the little creatures sitting neatly dressed in homespun cotton, presented them by the females of my white congregation, their hearts beating with the anticipation of their expected examination, frequently reviewing their lessons in order to be ready; then faining in anthems of praise to the Redeemer, making the adjoining hills and groves resound with the adored name of Jesus - what heart could remained unmoved!

On the 4th of July we arrived at the place of treaty. This

was according to previous agreement, in order to give a toast of civilization, on the ever memorable day of American independence. The place of treaty was a large bower in the midst of a delightful grove, where the school was introduced, marching in procession between the open ranks of white and red spectators. Each scholar read such a portion, as was requested. The different classes then spelled a number of words without the book. Specimens of their writing and cyphering were shown, and the exhibition closed by the children singing, with a clear and distinct voice, a hymn or two, committed to memory. Few of the spectators were unmoved, and many shed tears plentifully. The Governor, a hardy veterand, who had often braved the dangers of war in the same forest, said to me, "I have often stood unmoved amidst showers of bullets from the Indian rifles; but this effectually unmans me. I see civilization taking the ground of barbarism, and the praise of Jesus succeeding to the war whoop of the savage." All this time the tears were stealing down his manly cheek. At the close of the treaty the following note was politely handed me by the commissioners of the United States, expressive of their feelings on the occasion.

Sir

Having had the pleasure of your company several days at the treaty with the Cherokees on the Highwassee river, and having also had the pleasure of being present at the exhibition of the Indian children in their several lessons of spelling and reading, and having also seen sundry specimens of writing done by some of these children, whose education you superintend, we cannot do justice to our sentiments on the occasion, with out expressing to you the satisfaction we enjoyed, and still enjoy, in contemplating the progress

> the Cherokees are making toward a state of civilization and refinement, In exchange for the state of barbarism, in which their ancestors had long been plunged. We sincerely wish you may be able to preserve in so laudable a pursuit, until you see it crowned with the desired success. We are with sentiments of esteem, your obedient servants
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> Daniel Smith, Return J Meigs.
> Highwassee river, July 13, 1805.

The effect of this exhibition was such on the red people, that they instantly requested a second establishment in the lower district of the nation. On this head I had no instructions of the committee of missions, and no appropriations for its support. My own private property was insufficient to bear the whole cost, and the necessity of extending the plan was apparent. Notwithstanding all these difficulties I resolved on the measure, and trusted for aid in the discharge of evident duty from sources directed by Providence; and by the 26th of August, I had a second school in operation, consisting of from 20 to 30 scholars. During the continuance of the treaty a circumstance occured, which, as it tends to display sensibility of a savage conscience, and exhibit their ideas of justice of God, deserves to be remembered. One day while sitting at dinner a cloud arose and portended a considerable storm. The vivid lightnings flashed furiously around, and the thunders roared at a distance. A white man by the name of Rodgers, who had long been a resident in the nation, and abandoned to every wickedness used profaned and blasphemous expressions respecting the thunder. At length a flash of lightning struck a tree near the bower in which all were seated, and passed

off without any remarkable injury, except giving all a very severe shock. Silence reigned in the whole assembly about the space of a minute, when Enatta, i. e. the black Fox, the king of the nation, broke silence by saying, "the Great Spirit is mad at Rodgers." The introduction of such unprincipled men in the nation is the most formidable barrier in the way of their civilization. But God in his own time will bring light out of darkness, and spread the knowledge of himself throughout the heathen lands, and set up his standard in the deserts of America, I am &c.

Gideon Blackburn

Marysville, Jan. 15, 1808.

Rev. Sir,

Having established a second school on my own credit, and being solely accountable for its support, I wrote to the committee of missions on the subject, and received their answer, declaring that the scantiness of their funds would not allow them to extend benevolence to that school, or in any shape be accountable for it; or even for any

more of the cost of the first school than 200 dollars, as first stipulated; however, afterwards the appropriation was extended to five hundred dollars. About this time my circumstances were truly embarrassing: I had the care of a congregation among the white people where I still live, which though pretty numerous were generaly poor people, and being settled in a new country for several years had been much harassed by depredation and wars by the Indians; and still later by a circumstance relative to our boundary line; the people had settled south to an experimental line supposed to be the proper one: but when run by commissioners appointed by government, was considerably altered. Those southwest of the line were removed off and placed amongst those on the other side, where they continued a whole season. This so affected the whole neighborhood composing my charge, that neither then or since have they been able to pay anything considerable for the support of the gospel. I had also a rising and helpless family for which provision must be made; and by fatigues, and being exposed to cold, hunger, and wet, together with all the wretchedness of savage accomodations in my visits to the nation, and the severity of toil and hard labour at home, I was attacted with a complaint, which settled in one of my legs, not only deprived me of the use of the limb, but also, by the keenness of the pain and the quanity of the discharge, wasted my body, depressed my spirits, and brake my constitution.

Under these distresses, my family, parochial, or Indian duties, were preformed with utmost difficulty, and in pain too excruciating to be described by mortals. My schools were increasing,

my funds exhausted, my credit sinking, and my health to all appearance gone forever. The prospect was indeed gloomy! Just at this period a providental incident occured, which invigorated my ebbing hope, and again saved the whole design from miscarriage. I had been obliged a little while before to purchase some supplies for the schools, which I procured in the nation from an Indian countryman on a short credit. But a little before the period, supposing I was always ready, he forwarded my due bill for payment by an Indian, with whom I knew the establishment of my credit was indispensable. Money I had none, nor was there teen dollars to be geathered in the village where I lived as it was just at the time of the merchants making their annual remittances, and every cent which could be collected was sent off, and I was unable to ride in search of any in the neighborhood. I detained the messenger for breakfast, &c. much longer than usual in order to lay the case before God in solemn prayer, as I knew the existence of the whole was in jepardy, if my credit failed with the nation. After returning by the help of my crutches from the silent grove, I felt a confidence that something would be done, though I knew not how it could be effected. I took my pen, and was about to write to a friend for the loan of 40 dollars, the sum required. At that instant a gentleman called at my gate. As I walked out my heart felt some unusual emation; he presented me a letter, and immediately retired. I knew by the hand writing it was from a friend in Philadelphia. Hastily opening it, I found inclosed a bank note of 50 dollars, accompanied with the following note: "After reading your letter of _____ date to some friends last eavening, a

gentleman called at my door early this morning and handed the enclosed, to be used at your pleasure, but wished his name concealed" Thus the Lord enabled me to redeem my note, dismiss the Indian with pleasure and in full confidence of my resource, and thus by saving my credit, preserved the institution from ruin. Through many such mysterious steps has divine Providence led in the management of this undertakings, especially until the spring of 1806, when in a tour to the south I collected upwards of 1500 dolls, and at the same time was relieved almost miraculously from my bodily afflictions, mercies never to be forgotten, to the praise of sovereign grace. May they be indelibly imprinted on my recollection, bringing me nearer to the throne of grace, until mortality is swallowed up of life I am, &c.

Gideon Blackburn.

Maryville Feb. 8, 1808.

Rev. Sir,

Suffer me to interrupt the course of my narrative by filling this sheet with a description of one of the dances our Indians, called the eagle-tail dance. I am persuaded that it was once a religious ceremony; that it originated in the East; and is enigmatical. Though it has passed through the laps of ages, it still wears a strong appearance of the mysticism of the ancient mythology. But as religion

was then used as a machine of state policy, this might have been used in that way. The occasion of the dance is the killing of an eagle. Immediatly on this joyful event, the town to which this person belongs, with some other towns in the vicinity, sends word to some town or towns at a distance, that on a certain day, they will bring them the tail of an eagle. Before the day appointed, the party, who are to bring the tail, carefully selects from the woods a stick having many limbs, which they cut off two or three inches from the stem, and on top they spread the tail and bind it fast with ligatures, and also carry with them most of the feathers of the eagle, bound in little bundles: while the party, who are to receive them, provide a block of wood, carved in the figure of a man's head, fasten it to a pole, and set it in the ground in the spot designed for the place of meeting. This done, all assemble in the town house, and wait the approach of their friends, who come carrying the tail in triumph, attended by the sound of the drum and other music. Having arrived at a convenient place, and sufficiently near to be distinctly heard by those in the town house, they are formed into order by the principal chief, who distributes the bunches of feathers among the chiefs and warriors of the party. They then raised the war whoop, which is three times repeated, and as often answered by those within. They march forward about 100 yards; halt, and whoop once; are distinctly answered; so a second and third time. At the third of these single shouts, those within march out, directing their course toward the figure of the man as the central point. When arrived within teen steps of each party, distinguish themselves in front. After a moment's

pause, the chief of the town company draws his sword, astonishingly, and, at length, with menacing brow horrid threats, he draws toward this figure, (a feigned enemy) and gives it a fatal blow, lays it prostrate, then leaps, brandishes his sword, and exerts every nerve, as if in the severest contest. He then exultingly passes to the chief of the opposite party, waves his sword over his head and the heads of the other chiefs, dancing before them, and singing of his warlike exploits. As soon as this scene is over, one of the chiefs gives him a bunch of the feathers, with which he returns in extatic triumph, and gives it to one of his men. And a second chief goes through the same ceremony, is treated the same way, and returns with his prize, and so on till all the bunches of feathers are transefered to the town party. Then the head man of the advancing party bears the tail in triumph, and presents it to the chief who first drew his sword; he receives it with dignity, and bears it, with solemn majestic steps, to the place where the supposed slaughtered enemy lies. He sticks it in the ground and each one brings his bunch of feathers, and hangs it on the cut branches of the pole. The companies then unite, and one expert in the mystery of the dance, leads them through mysterious evolutions to the town house. After many maneuvers they enter and march around it, as if surveying a field of battle, until a signal is given, and the ceremony ceases till after dark, when a new and interesting scene commences. A fire is kindled in the centre of the townhouse, and a band of music, consisting of drums, cane whistles, gourds, and shells, filled with pebbles or shot, with a monotonous vocal sound, are placed on one side at a distance from the fire, and

at one end of the band a man is seated on a deer skin spread on the ground. The music proceeds nearly half an hour before any other exercises. At length a headman rises, holding some warlike instrument, which he brandishes over the heads of the musicians, who instantly ceases, though the drum is still lightly beaten. He then proceedes to tell some exploit or warlike action of his life, accompanying the narrative with all the gestures, which might have been supposed to attend it. At the conclusion he gives a whoop, which is answered by the band of music; the rest in solemn silence. He then begins to sing and dance with all the motions of a triumphant warrior. this continues about the space of a minute; the music in the mean time proceeding, until he again waves his instrument over their heads, at which they stop, and he proceeds, as before, to tell some other fete, and so on, till all his achievements are recited. At the close of the whole, he passes by the man seated on the deerskin, and throws him something, either money or clothing. He then sits down, and another rises, goes through the same ceremony, and retires; and so they proceede, until all the chiefs and warriors are fully satisfied. At the close, the collection, thus made, is divided; a large dividen is given to the person, who killed the eagle, and the remainder distributed to the band of music. As soon as this is done the males all partake of a meal in the townhouse, in which the females are not permitted to join. Supper being ended they mingled promiscuously, and spent the remainder of the night in their usual scenes of merriment.

This ceremony is so much degenerated that very few of the younger ones know how to lead it, and none even of the oldest, (as

they themselves say) understand it so well as their fathers; nor indeed do they any of their dances or ceremonies. If we reflect on the useage of the Egyptians and yet see their hieroglyphics, as well as some of the other eastern nations, we may conjecture the origin of our Indians, and may probably infer the mode of their passage to America. Many of their cermonies are evidently Jewish. If they are not descended from that nation, they must have descended from those sufficiently near to have learned their costems and mode of worship. I shall remark more fully on this point in a future letter. I am, dear Sir, Yours in the gospel of Jesus Christ,

Gideon Blackburn.